Architectural and economic development on three groups of estates in Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex between 1066 and the early fourteenth century

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Declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis entitled Architectural and Economic Development on Three Groups of Estates in Suffolk, Norfolk and
Essex Between 1066 and the Early Fourteenth Century is my own.

Rosemary Day

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Date7 July 2020

ABSTRACT

There has been considerable research into economic and architectural developments after the Norman Conquest, but the question of whether, and if so how, economic developments affected architecture has received much less attention. This thesis aims to contribute to a greater understanding of that interaction and to provide a methodological approach to underpin conclusions.

The empirical basis of this thesis is a study of rural and urban buildings and the economic development from 1066 to the early fourteenth century on groups of estates held by three different landholders: the church, the earls and the king. The estates are all in eastern England (Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk) and share many of the same physical characteristics, as well as being in a largely peaceful and heavily populated area. The case studies use architectural remains and archaeological and documentary sources to establish the structure and cost of abbey churches, palaces and castles and to identify the design and function of the domestic houses of landlords and merchants. The growth of markets, towns, food production and the cash economy are a general framework for identifying the economic development recorded in individual estate accounts and charters.

The case studies lead to a range of conclusions. For royalty, finance did not seriously affect their buildings because, unlike the earls and the church, they had additional income sources. Because estate income was not essential, royal estates were often poorly managed; poor management led to economic and architectural development by the tenants and eventually to unrest related to high taxation. In the other two case studies, financial considerations impacted on the timescale of construction and had some influence on design, but the need for money also led to economic development on the estates. In towns the church promoted economic development, but architectural developments were introduced by merchants for commercial reasons in both church and royal towns.

This thesis confirms that the construction of major buildings after the Norman Conquest was made possible because of the availability of wealth and the development of a cash economy. On all three groups of estates, ambition was a key driver. However, domestic buildings generally reflected the Anglo-Saxon tradition of a ground floor hall. Innovation was only found in merchant-led urban domestic building where vaults and ground floors were used to sell goods.

Research into individual manors revealed a variety of economic developments and approaches, many demonstrating significant improvements in production or profit. The research showed that the motivation of the landlord—and following his lead, that of the immediate supervisor—was a key factor in leading development. Where control was more lax, the aspirations of the peasants led to economic growth and the building of extensive complexes.

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I am also grateful to the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, the Suffolk and Essex record offices and the libraries and librarians at Senate House and the Institute of Historical Research. I could not have written this thesis without access to their huge range of primary and secondary texts and the helpfulness and scholarship of the librarians and members who so willingly answered my queries.

Abbreviations

JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ESAH	Essex Society for Archaeology and History
PSIAH	*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*

INTRODUCTION

The early medieval cathedrals, churches and castles throughout England and Wales have long been regarded by scholars as symbolic of the great period of building after the Norman Conquest.[1] They transformed the urban and rural landscape and were highly visible statements of the power and wealth of the new aristocracy, both secular and spiritual. At the same time the economic developments that took place – perhaps less well-known since they were less visible – transformed the economy. These were critical to the building boom and laid the foundations for the economy for the next four centuries. The major spur to the economies of Europe and England was a tripling of the population between 1000 and the first major plague in 1348/9. This led to more crops being grown to produce food and provide a surplus for sale.[2] In turn the additional population and production led to the growth of many new markets, the establishment of hundreds more towns and a doubling of the urban population.[3] A vital underpinning for these developments was the change in the basis of the economy from barter to cash and credit.[4]

Research into developments in these centuries has often focussed separately on either buildings or economics, yet the buildings could not have been constructed without the economic developments, and the desire to build fuelled economic development, at least in part. The main aims of this research were to investigate this interdependence and increase understanding of the relationship between architecture and economics.[5]

To achieve this, details of architectural and economic development on groups of estates of the three major landholders in the early Middle Ages – the church, lay

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[1] E. Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014) and *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); J. Goodall, *The English Castle 1066-1650* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011); R. Liddiard, ed., *Anglo-Norman Castles* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003).

[2] Detailed in Chapter One, Economic Development.

[3] D.M.Palliser,ed. *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol 1 600-1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.84 probable urban population in 1086 10% of total, p.103 probable urban population in 1300 20% of total.

[4] R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); M. Bailey, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); J. L. Bolton, *Money in the English Economy 973-1489 (*Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England – Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348* (Harlow: Longman Group Limited, 1995), and *Medieval England – Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London and New York: Longman Group Ltd., 1978).

[5] There was, in contrast, more extensive financial commentary on Gothic cathedrals in Northern France, covered in Chapter Two.

lords and the king – have been analysed.[6] Answers to a range of questions have been sought, including: what major buildings were constructed and why – studying location, cost and function rather than exploring specific developments in architectural style; what kind of domestic buildings were built in the countryside and whether these differed from pre-1066 complexes; what was built in towns and whether this differed from buildings in the countryside. Questions on the economy have focussed on the ways in which the different groups funded their buildings, what was done to raise cash and how markets and towns facilitated economic development. The focus on specific estates has revealed the practical impact of finance on building, the impact of the need for cash on economic development, and whether this differed between the three different landlords.
This Introduction sets out details of the approach to the selection of estates for which enough information would be available for assessment and comparisons to be made between them. The reasons for the choices made are explained. The architectural and economic context for the research is outlined in Chapter One.

Approach

Each group of estates needed to include at least one major building, preferably with some remains still standing but at least with good documentary and some archaeological evidence.[7] There would also be documentary and/or archaeological evidence of smaller domestic buildings to facilitate evaluation of a range of structures from manor house to peasant farmstead or cottage. Moreover, each group would need to include at least one town to enable comparison to be made between urban and rural buildings and economies. To give a sound basis for comparison of economic development the estates needed to be in the same region and to include manors with good documentary evidence such as accounts, leases and charters. The estates would preferably be in a politically stable area to avoid possible distorting effects of war and rebellion.

Choosing the case studies

The changes in land holdings made by William the Conqueror between 1066 and 1086 were set out in the *Domesday Book*. The ownership of land was the only source of real wealth in the eleventh century. Before 1066, thousands of thegns held lands; but this was drastically changed after the Conquest when William disinherited most of the thegns and gave their lands to 200 Norman lords. Just ten of these new lords gained tenancy of 25% of the redistributed lands. The changes

[6] These three groups held 95% of the land listed in the Domesday Book. The other 5% was held by freemen such as Thorkell the Reeve. *Domesday Book Essex*, ed. A. Rumble (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), p.86.
[7] A major building would include a cathedral, abbey church or castle.

were so extensive that only a handful of the pre-1066 landholders whose estates were worth more than £100 remained in possession of them.[8] Just as with the aristocracy, William ensured that the church was also loyal, appointing Norman bishops. By 1087 only one English see, Worcester, was still in Anglo-Saxon hands. *Domesday Book* lists the church as tenant-in-chief for 27% of estates, with 50% leased to secular lords and 17% held by the king.[9] The redistribution resulted in significant wealth for both lay lords and the church which they could, and did, spend on buildings, but was also used to maintain a lavish lifestyle with, particularly in the case of the newly rich lay lords, conspicuous consumption.
One group of estates has been selected for each of these major landholders, using the criteria set out in the previous paragraph. The group of ecclesiastical estates selected was the precinct, town and lands of Bury St. Edmunds, the baronial estate that of the Bigod Earls of Suffolk and Norfolk, and the royal estate consisted of the king's holdings in Essex and the town of Colchester.[10] All were located in the eastern counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex.

Why Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex?

In 1066 these three counties were broadly the same areas as shown on today's road maps. The case for selecting them rests on a number of economic factors. The first was that from the eleventh until the middle of the fourteenth century these counties were amongst the richest and the most settled areas of England.[11] This contrasted with other areas where, as well as redistributing lands held by Anglo-Saxon thegns, William the Conqueror's changes disrupted patterns of lordship, of village management of land and of traditional ploughing and harvesting. In such areas, the Domesday Book showed a reduction in the value of a manor between 1066 and 1086 which has been attributed to this disruption.[12] However, in the three counties selected, economic and social studies across the area have shown how agricultural output increased and little waste was recorded.[13] For instance, of 17 manors in Essex between 1066 and 1086, six were leased for additional sums, five remained stable and six were leased for slightly lower values. Overall, the value

[8] J.Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 96-97.

[9] Many questions have been raised about the data in *Domesday Book*, for instance in R. Welldon Finn's *An Introduction to Domesday Book* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1963), pp.12-13, but the ownership is not an issue. This is also covered in Chapter One.

[10] The context and background for the period are set out in Chapter One.

[11] T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c650-1200* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), p.16.

[12] R. Fleming, 'Domesday Book and the Tenurial Revolution' *Anglo-Norman Studies* (1986) *vol. 9*, pp. 87-101.

[13] Illustrative texts include H.C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971 first edn. 1952); Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation*.

changed only marginally from £149 in 1066 to £149 3s 4d in 1086.[14] Another illustration of economic success and growing trade was that in Suffolk the number of regular weekly markets increased from 10 before 1100 to over 50 by 1350, the majority of these appearing before 1275.[15] At the same time, the network of trade routes across the North Sea, originally based on routes to the Viking cities, grew after the Conquest into major trading with Flanders, leading to the establishment of the flourishing eastern sea ports of Boston and Kings Lynn.[16]

The three selected estates and their towns do not include a cathedral. However, the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury was a classic Norman church and larger than most of the new cathedrals, with the exception of Winchester and Canterbury. The Abbot had as much authority over his great estates as any bishop, if not more, and could rule without any interference even from royal jurisdiction. He was also, like the greatest of bishops, an advisor to royalty and in receipt of royal favours, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Geographically, the extensive Bury lands in West Suffolk, with their other estates in nearby shires, were close to the estates of the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk and both these were not far from the king's estates in Essex. All three estate groups had a similar mix of soil types and road and river transport links. They also shared high population density, considered to be a significant engine for economic growth.[17] It has been estimated that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Norfolk and Suffolk, together with the fenlands of Lincolnshire, accommodated almost a quarter of the whole population of England.[18]

The area was also politically stable. There was no destruction of the countryside, as happened in the North of England, and there was no major revision of the structure of land holdings.[19] Notably, the rebellions of the Norfolk earls in 1160 and 1216 impacted on the earls' families, with the confiscation of their castles and restriction on their income: this did not involve destruction of townships and farms. Such stability provided a sound basis for comparison between the estates.

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[14] R. Faith, 'Demesne Resources and Labour Rent on the Manors of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1066-1212', *EcHR*, New series, vol. 47, no.4 *(*1994), pp. 657-678.

[15] C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London: Secker and Warburg.,1976), pp.24-25

[16] D. Bates and R. Liddiard, eds. *East Anglia and its North Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), pp.176-177.

[17] J. Hatcher and M. Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.27-30; K. Gunnar Persson, *Pre-industrial Economic Growth* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988), pp.73-74.

[18] Population estimates in a range of 375,000 to 500,000; Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England - Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (London and New York:Longman, 1978), p.5.; S. Broadberry, B .M .S. Campbell, A. Klein, M.Overton and B.van Leeuwen, *British Economic Growth 1270-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.25, Table 1.08.

[19] For instance, in Sussex land was divided into large defensive strips, called Rapes, each with an area of coastline, to facilitate coastal defence.

Documentary background

Many books and articles have been published on the three counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex. Most publications have been on specific topics, such as relationships with the North Sea, the development of lordship in East Anglia or the economy of the Breckland. Others focus on a particular county or the major towns, such as Norwich or Bury and their buildings. There are a number of articles which research specific estates.[20] The basic geography and economy of the estates in 1086 is set out in H.C.Darby's detailed analysis of the Domesday geography of the eastern counties, which included Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex.[21] These texts have provided an important and scholarly background to research into the individual estates.

Buildings

Turning to architectural evidence, some of the justification for selecting estates in these counties is the wealth of surviving fabric, as well as archaeological and documentary evidence both for rural and urban structures. In these counties the Normans founded monasteries and cathedrals, and rebuilt or constructed new castles and other major buildings, including significant buildings such as Colchester Castle, Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, Framlingham and Orford Castles. A range of drawings and descriptions of these buildings exists, as well as records of extensive archaeological projects. There are only a few physical remains of domestic buildings, from rural manorial complexes to cottages large and small, but these have been documented in some detail in accounts and charters and new data is emerging from archaeological excavations such as that at Days Road in Suffolk.[22] In the towns, some well-preserved twelfth- and thirteenth-century town and merchant houses have survived in Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester.[23] More general

[20] D. Bates and R. Liddiard, eds. *East Anglia and Its North Sea World*; A. Wareham, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005); M. Bailey, *East Anglian Breckland in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: an Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press,2007); T. A. Heslop and H. E. Lunnon, *Norwich Medieval and Early Modern Art, Architecture and Archaeology* (Leeds: Maney Publishing,for the BAA 2015); A. Gransden. *A History of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds vol. 1 1182-1256 and vol. 2 1257-1301* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007 and 2015); F. G. Davenport, *The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, first published 1906,reprinted 2010); *A Suffolk Hundred in the Year 1283:* E. Powell, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910); M. Deacon, *Great Chesterford, A Common Field Parish in Essex* (Saffron Walden: M.Deacon, 1983).

[21] H. C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

[22] J Tabor, 'A Medieval Farmstead at Days Road, Capel St. Mary', *PSIAH* vol. 43 (2016) pp.551-581.

[23] A. Quiney, *Town Houses in Medieval Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp.177-8.

but extensive information on buildings and the landscape was set out in the early twentieth-century Victoria County Histories, in the surveys conducted by the Royal Council for Historic Monuments and the medieval volumes of H.E. Colvin's *The King's Works.*[24] This preponderance of buildings, surveys, excavation and other research enabled questions on the buildings and their relationship to economics to be examined.

The economy: primary and other data sources

In all three counties there are extensive primary sources for information on the economy, particularly for the larger estates. Initial information has been taken from the 1086 Little Domesday Book, which included data on land, people and animals. However, the income and expenditure accounts for individual manors and for the royal estates have been critical to examining how the estates functioned and what building costs were incurred.[25] These documents set out details of individual costs, such as the repair of a wall, income from sales of crops, details of animals kept, sold and replaced and a wealth of information giving a picture of the day-to-day working of the estates, including details of margins and profitability. This is supplemented by taxation data on personal and trade goods and housing introduced in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The public records of this tax provided data on households, living space, personal possessions such as spoons and cooking pots, professions and income in both town and country. Additional data is available through charters, leases and wills, and many, such as *The Historical Documents of Bury St. Edmunds*, have been transcribed and printed. Archaeological excavations and other studies such as those into deserted villages have provided further evidence to support research and conclusions.[26]

Case Study One: An ecclesiastical estate: The Abbey, estates and town of Bury St. Edmunds

In the late eleventh century there were two major ecclesiastical estates in the eastern counties, one centred on the Abbey of Ely, the other on the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. There were many smaller abbeys and priories such as Thetford, Butley and St. John's at Colchester, but Ely and Bury had by far the largest land holdings. Both were well-established, with known origins in the ninth century. The attraction

[24] H. Colvin , *The Kings' Works*, vol.12 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1976).

[25] Accounts, such as those for Bungay for 1269-1270, included information on sowing and ploughing, building maintenance costs and the sales value of crops and animals; for royal estates, the Rolls Series details income and expenditure.

[26] C. Dyer and R. Jones, eds. *Deserted Villages Revisited*, (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2010); N.Christie and P. Stamper, eds., *Medieval Rural Settlements Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2012).

of Ely as a subject for research is that significant Romanesque architecture is still intact, not just in the Cathedral but in the Abbot's House and Chapel and the Infirmary. In addition, the *Liber Eliensis* is a remarkable contemporary record taking the history of Ely to the end of the twelfth century. However, the Ely estates were more scattered, many further away from Suffolk and Norfolk, and there have already been a number of studies of the Cathedral and its estates. It was also affected by rebellion.[27] In the light of these considerations, Bury St. Edmunds was selected as the ecclesiastical estate for my thesis.

Bury has good primary documentary sources and there have been fewer comprehensive studies of this early period. The drawback was that, in terms of buildings, only the Norman tower is still standing.[28] However, in an article on the Abbey church in 1998, Heywood stated, 'despite the loss of most of the fabric of the Abbey church at Bury, descriptions and scanty remains allow some significant revelations to be made'.[29] There is also documentary evidence about the buildings of the monastic complex from the records of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century observers such as the Reverend R. Yates and Gilyard Beer, and from excavations by English Heritage and others. In effect, though little remains, much can be deduced Though not a cathedral, it is generally thought that the Abbey church was constructed in the style of the great Norman pilgrimage churches built in England following the Conquest, rivalling the scale of the Constantine basilicas of early Christian Rome.[30] More recent excavations have revealed traces of Anglo-Saxon decoration.[31] These formed the basis for research into the buildings of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's in Chapter Two.

The Liberty – eight and a half hundreds of land in West Suffolk granted to the Abbey by Edward the Confessor – represented a very substantial area, which through its produce and rents should have provided sufficient income and food to sustain the monastery.[32] By 1086 there were at least 30 manors in the Liberty.[33] Manorial halls

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[27] Studies include: J. Stewart, *On the Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London: John van Voorst, 1868); T. Cocke, 'The Architectural History of Ely Cathedral from 1540-1840' *BAA Conference Transactions: Medieval Art and Architecture at Ely Cathedral* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1979): *Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, (London: Royal Society of Literature,1876): R. Welldon Finn, 'The *Inquisitio Eliensis* Reconsidered', *EcHR vol*. 75, (1960), pp. 385-409.

[28] The other twelfth-century tower, the Gatehouse, was destroyed and then rebuilt in the fourteenth century.

[29] S. Heywood, 'Aspects of the Romanesque Church of Bury St. Edmunds in their Regional Context', ; *JBAA* vol. 20, pp.16-21.

[30] E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Bury St. Edmunds', in *JBAA vol. 20,* p.1.

[31] R. Gem and L. Keen, 'Bury St. Edmund's Abbey: late Anglo-Saxon Finds', *PSIAH* vol. 35 (1981), pp. 1-31.

[32] A Liberty was an area of land where the king granted exclusive administrative and judicial rights over manors belonging to the tenant-in-chief and also held by others. A Hundred was the Anglo-Saxon term for a fiscal and civil government area of a shire.

[33] A. Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds 1182-1256* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), Fig. 1.

on the estates were an integral part of management at the time, acting as collection points for payment of rents and dues and, in the case of larger complexes such as at Redgrave, providing accommodation for the Abbot and his guests. As with the Abbey itself, although the buildings have disappeared there are records in leases and manorial accounts detailing the estate buildings, often with values and dimensions. The management of the Abbey's financial affairs is covered in a range of primary and secondary documentation which also has data on its estate management, including profit margins, crops grown, costs and income.
Bury is an example of a town where the landlord, in this case the Abbey, actively developed its economy. The Abbey procured charters for a market and two major annual fairs and took action to protect the town's trade. Visiting pilgrims also provided stimulus to the town, as did the sale of local produce from the Abbey manors, and the need for many different services for the monks.
Primary documentation includes three unique contemporary sources: Jocelyn of Brakelond's account of the rule of Abbot Samson at Bury St. Edmunds; Abbot Samson's *Feudal Book* listing rents due to St. Edmund's Abbey in the late twelfth century; and his *Kalendar*, with information on the tenants, rents and holdings of the Abbey's lands. A fourth text, *The Bury Chronicle 1212-1301,* covers the main events of these years but also has extensive detail on the value and taxation of the Abbey's estates and the income from donations and other individual church revenues.[34] This data needs to be treated with some scepticism, given that values were probably understated for tax purposes. There is also a range of charters and leases with data on the value, buildings and terms of lease for individual estates. These form the basis of the in-depth study of the economy of the town and selected Bury St. Edmunds estates, presented in Chapter Two.

Case Study Two: A noble's estates: the estates of the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk

The Bigods, who became Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk, have been selected as examples of great secular landowners. They were typical of the Norman knights with some, but not much, land in western Normandy, who came with William the Conqueror in 1066 to make their fortune.[35] They fought with the Conqueror and he rewarded them with lands and salaried positions such as county sheriff. They then established themselves and their families in their new country, developing estates and building residences and castles. They represent the *nouveau riche* of the twelfth century. When the Bigods rebuilt Framlingham at the end of the twelfth century, it was designed as a curtain wall castle where defence depended primarily on walls and towers surrounding an internal space.[36] These external walls and

[34] *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds 1257-1301,* A Gransden, ed. (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson Ltd., 1964).
[35] M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p.1.
[36] The earliest extant English example is the King's castle at Dover.

towers are still mostly intact and provide a contrast to the castle at Bungay built by Hugh Bigod in the middle of the twelfth century. Though Bungay is now largely in ruins, sufficient remains survive which, with the outcome of excavations, show that this was a more traditional castle with a central tower, providing a contrast in function as well as design with Framlingham.

The Bigods held extensive lands in Suffolk close to Framlingham, and many large and profitable estates in Norfolk. These they developed to provide the income to build and to sustain their lifestyle. There is good documentary evidence about these estates, mainly coming from charters and accounts, including details of income and expenditure that paint a picture of the family wealth and often describe estate buildings. Framlingham documents in particular include information about the earls' economy and lifestyle.[37] Surveys for inheritance purposes, such as that made in 1225 to confirm the dowry of the widow of Roger Bigod, provide details of the manors and their value and show how the estate grew by acquisitions and with marriage contracts and associations with other great landowners. This information is complemented by archaeological excavations such as those conducted by English Heritage and the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History.[38]

The Bigods had opportunities to develop towns on their estates, but did not do so. The possible reasons for this will be explored and will be compared to the approach of other noble families. Chapter Three provides an in-depth study of the history, buildings, income and estate management of the Bigods.

Case Study Three: A royal estate: the kings' buildings and manors in Essex.

In the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex, there are three medieval royal castles with significant structures remaining: Colchester and Norwich, where building started in the late eleventh century, and Orford, built in the middle of the twelfth century. The architecture of Norwich Castle has been researched in depth, as has that of Orford Castle, which was built using the design pioneered by Henry II at Dover.[39] However, Colchester Castle – like the White Tower of London and Rochester Castle – was one of the earliest Anglo-Norman buildings. For this reason it was selected as the major royal building to be studied, as it provided a contrast with the castles built by the Bigods. Other royal buildings in Essex include the hunting lodges at Havering and Writtle, where archaeological and documentary

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[37] *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*; *Medieval Framlingham: Select Documents 1270-1524* J. Ridgard, ed. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1985).

[38] M. Alexander, *Framlingham Castle, Suffolk: The Landscape Context* (London: English Heritage, 2007); G. Coad, 'Recent Excavations at Framlingham Castle', *PSIAH* vol. 17 Part 2 (1991) pp. 152-161.

[39] T.A. Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep: Romanesque Architecture and Social Context* (Norwich: Centre for East Anglian Studies, 1994); D. Renn, *Framlingham and Orford Castles* (London: English Heritage, 1988).

evidence enabled broad outlines to be established to provide a comparison with other domestic complexes.
The management of the royal estates in Essex contrasted with that of the estates of the Bury abbots and the Bigod earls. The managers of the royal estates were often appointed by the king as a reward for services or to encourage loyalty. They were generally much less active than the managers on the earls' or church estates. Estates have been selected to illustrate these differences, using a range of documentary evidence. One has also been selected to show how, by taking advantage of the lack of active management, some peasants were able to enhance their holdings, build complexes and become the forerunners of the yeomen of later centuries.[40] The estates also showed differences in community, with a tendency to move towards dispersed settlement where the peasants were more entrepreneurial, as in the royal estate of Havering. For the Essex estates there are a range of primary sources available including the Domesday Book and, as for the other case studies, accounts, charters and monographs on particular manors. The Pipe Rolls provide evidence of expenditure and income for royal holdings.[41] Colchester was already a royal town in 1066. There is documentary and archaeological evidence relating to its growth, which largely took place in the closing years of the eleventh century. There are also the remains of early medieval housing and the Guildhall to provide a comparison with the town of Bury St. Edmunds.[42] These facilitated comparison between a royal town and the town of the abbots. Chapter Four sets out the in-depth study of the design and function of royal buildings, the management of royal estates and the town of Colchester.

Timeframe of the study

After the Norman Conquest there was a major building boom in England, which included the rebuilding of every major cathedral and abbey church, using innovative features and generally on a larger scale.[43] The castles initially built by the new landed aristocracy were motte and bailey structures, generally of earth and wood, easily defended and used as a base for defeating attacks on the surrounding lands. Historians such as N.J.G.Pounds have claimed that there were hundreds of such

[40] Details are in Chapter Four.

[41] Sources include R.H.Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester 1300-1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); the four-volume *Regesta Regum Anglo Normanum*, *Monasticum Anglicanum*, the Rolls series, and data underlying and included in W. Rodwell, *The Origin and Early Development of Witham, Essex: A Study in Settlement and Fortification, Prehistoric to Medieval* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1983) and D.D. Andrews, ed. *Cressing Temple: A Templar and Hospitaller Manor in Essex (*Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1993); Pipe Rolls have been published by the Pipe Rolls Society covering the reigns of Henry II, John and Richard I.

[42] P. Crummy, *Aspects of Anglo-Norman Colchester,* CBA Research Report 39 (Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust, 1981).

[43] See footnote 1

castles, largely undocumented and still unexcavated.[44] These were then replaced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with some 922 castles in the countryside and 146 were rebuilt in stone.[45]

This made 1066 a logical starting point for studying architectural development. References have been made to pre-1066 buildings, architecture and land tenures as an essential context for these developments. For economic research, the same date is adopted. The Little Domesday Book, though published in 1086, has extensive data for 1066, and the data provides a sound basis for assessing the extent and value of the three groups of estates at the time of the Conquest.

The end date of the early fourteenth century was adopted primarily because of the availability of detailed information on estate economics. There is some twelfth century documentation, but during the thirteenth century documentation from English manors increased markedly in quantity and quality.[46] Detailed manorial accounts and surveys with data on prices, wages and costs became more widely collected and retained by most large and many small estates. For the larger royal, baronial and ecclesiastical estates, there are accounts which give a good view of expenditure, including the money that was spent to repair and to construct new buildings. Formal accounts vary, but cover a wide range of topics from grain receipts and livestock sales to the purchase of seeds, tools and timber, stone and other building materials. They often include the labour costs of construction as well as those of ploughing and harvesting. [47] At the turn of the 13th century and for the first decade there is data on national tax returns. This lists the goods held by individuals, indicates the type of housing that they lived in and often the source of their wealth (such as the Colchester tax returns of 1301).[48]

Selecting an end date of the early fourteenth century does, however, raise issues for both architecture and the economy. Architecturally, towards the end of the twelfth century there was a gradual change in style from Romanesque to Gothic. Some art historians have favoured the end of the twelfth century for this transition and others have argued for an earlier date; still others maintain that the distinction cannot be sufficiently well defined.[49] As the primary architectural concern in the case studies is with the function and cost of buildings, a precise end date is less critical, but all the major buildings studied were completed before the end of the twelfth or just at the beginning of the thirteenth century and thus predate the

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[44] N.J.G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: a Social and Political History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.10-11.

[45] O.H.Creighton,' Castles and Castle Building in Town and Country', in K.Giles and C.Dyer, eds.,*Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2007), p.281.

[46] M. Bailey, *The English Manor c1200-1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.19.

[47] Ibid., pp.100-106.

[48] The data has to be assessed critically, as tax returns were, as now, often understated.

[49] P. Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2006), pp.3-4.

period of significant stylistic shifts.[50] Data on domestic estate buildings is generally recorded in detail in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century accounts and other records.

The time-span for the economy raises the central issues of when economic developments took place and when they stopped. Already in the eleventh and into the twelfth century, key developments were in place. The underlying reason for economic development - the growth in population – started early in the eleventh century and continued with few interruptions until the early decades of the fourteenth century. After the Norman Conquest, the economy of England was influenced by the need for income to fund the building boom, the lifestyle of the new rich and the creation of fewer, richer major land holders by William the Conqueror. Many of the other drivers of economic development, including the multiplication of markets and the growth of towns, were also well under way in the eleventh century and these continued broadly unchanged through the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In contrast to architecture, there was an economic continuum in the period studied.[51]

The end date needed to be before the major changes that occurred with the first of the great plagues (the Black Death in 1348/9). However, before that there were two significant interruptions to economic growth. The first was the poor harvests of 1315-1317, coupled with severe outbreaks of animal disease. The second was a major reduction in the wool trade, which, unlike the other two factors, was brought about by government taxes and intervention.[52]

These agricultural and trading problems were exacerbated by a shortage of bullion after the first decade of the fourteenth century, resulting in mint output falling to a little over 1000 coins by the 1330s, a reduction of 80% from the late twelfth-century levels and a severe reduction in capacity to pay for goods and services by coin.[53]Although not as dramatic as the impact of the first plague, these factors led to the selection of the early fourteenth century as an end date for the economic research, as this was when the change from growth to decline started.

Building on steady growth, the major economic factor which had to be considered in the case studies was the price inflation that took place from the late eleventh to the early fourteenth century.

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[50] Only the Western facade of the Abbey at Bury St. Edmunds was physically completed after 1200 and the design was already in place.

[51] There were individual years when climate problems affected output and crop failure led to famine in some areas, but taken as a whole there was a general upward trend until the early years of the fourteenth century. See Chapter One.

[52] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.240

[53] J.L.Bolton, *Money in the Medieval English Economy: 973-1489* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.163.

Price inflation

In terms of comparing costs across centuries, trends have already been established for price inflation in the early Middle Ages. D. L. Farmer studied trends in the prices of wheat, oats, barley and rye, developing long-term trends and seven-year moving averages.[54] While there is room for debate, particularly about the impact of harvests and the depth of data in some areas, his results have not been seriously challenged. An example from his figures for grain prices is given in Table 1 below:

Introduction Table 1: Grain price changes

Per quarter	**1208 price in shillings**	**1300 price in shillings**	**Change**
Oats	1	2	+100%
Barley	2	3	+50%
Rye	2.25	3	+33%
Wheat	2.50	4.50	+80%

Figures were not exact for any one manor, so individual estate comparison is difficult. However, a general guide can be derived. This means, for instance, that income of 450s from wheat sales on a St. Edmund's manor in 1299 would translate to some 250s for the end of the eleventh century and similar adjustments would relate overall income across the century. Using a similar approach over a longer time period, Farmer set out price changes for livestock in the thirteenth century.[55] Again, prices did fluctuate depending on weather, demand and money supply, but the general level can be deduced and applied to adjust financial information from different periods. An example of his findings is set out below (Table 2).

[54] D. L. Farmer 'Some Grain Price Movements in Thirteenth Century England' *EcHR* New series vol. 10 (1957), p.214.

[55] D. L. Farmer 'Some Livestock price movements in Thirteenth century England', *EcHR* 2nd Series vol. 22 No. 1 (1969), pp.4-5.

Introduction Table 2: Livestock prices

Animal	**1208 price in shillings and pence**	**1300 price in shillings and pence**	**Change**
Oxen	5s.1 ¾ d	10s.4d	+100%
Cows	2s 8d	7s 3 ¾ d	+230%
Muttons	11d	1s 1 ½ d	+82%
Ewes	6 ¼ d	10 ¾ d	+72%
Pigs	2s 3d	2s 5 ¾ d	+11%

As an example, if a St. Edmund's manor bought five oxen for 50s in 1299, this would translate to 25s at the end of the eleventh century. Rental changes have also been determined using the Rolls series, tax returns and manuscripts such as Abbot Samson's *Kalendar*, and have been reflected in the analysis of individual manors. With this information, costs which are documented for one time-span can be recalibrated to another. Appendix 1 sets out price inflation from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is developed around research into three groups of estates. The context for this is set out in Chapter One, which explores the main architectural and economic issues. Architectural issues include the change in size and function of churches, reasons for building castles and changes in their design and the possible continuing influence of Anglo-Saxon techniques. New approaches include estimating whether finance had an impact on design, as well as on structure and time for construction. Consideration of the architecture of domestic buildings includes the issue of how buildings in rural and urban settings compare and the ways that commerce influenced town buildings. The question of the survival of peasant buildings is considered with reference to recent archaeological excavations in order to explore whether this can provide a base for examining the peasant buildings found in the case studies.
On economics, the dominant issues include the impact of markets, the growth of towns and new techniques for and approach to the cultivation and marketing of crops, including the use of tenant services and the effects of the Norman Conquest. The growing population of towns, leading to the availability of non-agricultural activities for those needing to leave the countryside, emerge as issues, in particular the role of merchants and the service industries.

Chapter Two reviews the design and financing of the post-Conquest Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, using a range of documents from the Abbey and elsewhere to estimate the costs of building. This will be set in the context of the changing fortunes of the Abbey's economic management. The conflict between the Abbot and the Bishop of Norfolk, and its possible consequences and some innovative approaches to raising the cash to build the Abbey are explored. Research into a number of Bury manors establishes how the estate was managed, with a view to testing the claims that ecclesiastics were conservative in their approach to land management, retained food farms to the detriment of potential yields and did not adopt many of the new techniques being explored by the lay earls. Based on this research, the effectiveness of the Abbey's estate management will be reconsidered. Evidence for the Abbey's development of the town of Bury St. Edmunds will be explored to assess the impact of the Abbey and its pilgrims on fairs and trade, the control it exercised, and the measures it took to protect its income. The essentially commercial approach of the Abbey to its town will be discussed, together with conflicts between the Abbey and the burgesses and merchants who grew rich in it and built many of the early town buildings.

Chapter Three looks at the origin of the Bigod family, the motivation behind their building activity and the innovative management of their estates. The data presented shows the Bigods as typical Norman incomers, looking to become rich but also to be accepted as part of the aristocracy. Although they built three castles (Framlingham twice), their reasons for building were varied and to some extent, after the death of the founding Roger, reflected their changing fortunes in the baronial wars during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II.[56] Using the evidence of their structures, wider questions about their motivation for castle building and the forms this took are explored and examined in comparison with the building activities of their peers in the region.

Research into the manors on the Bigod estates illustrates how a range of innovative approaches were applied to crop production, including crop rotation, management, and marketing to increase output and profitability. This reaffirms the notion that in this period, at least on some estates, yield was increased by local innovations rather than only as a by-product of an increase in land under cultivation. The fact that, despite some potential, the Bigods did not support development of a town on their estates until almost the end of the thirteenth century is also explored and the possible reasons examined.

Chapter Four examines the kings' buildings in Essex, in particular Colchester Castle and the royal hunting lodges. The reasons for the construction of the Castle and the related arguments about its use and its impact on the town and hinterland are considered. The findings are contrasted with the impact of the Abbey on the town of Bury St. Edmunds. The two hunting lodges at Havering and Writtle are examined, looking particularly at their function, and the traditional designs which appear to

[56] Henry 1, 1100-1135; Henry II, 1154-1189.

have been followed. They are compared to the estate complexes on the Bury and Bigod manors.

Studies of the royal estates provide a significant contrast with the economic development of the estates of the other two groups. In general, much less income was generated than could have been expected, largely because management was generally lax. The reasons for and impact of poor management on a number of royal estates are investigated and illustrated. The differences are highlighted through detailed research into two estates in particular, Witham and Writtle. The former, originally a royal manor, was granted to the Templars in the mid-twelfth century and they then showed what could be achieved on the manor, significantly increasing its income. The latter was part of a short-lived royal experiment to improve profitability by installing professional management. A different outcome resulting from poor management was revealed in Havering, where the evidence that peasants exploited opportunities to increase wealth and standing is examined.

Colchester town was one of many owned by the king before 1066 and remained in royal possession. Evidence for the growth, structure and medieval buildings of the town is examined and contrasted with the growth of Bury St. Edmunds and the town of Orford.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT FOR THE THREE CASE STUDIES

This chapter examines the literature and data that relate to architectural and economic development in England from 1066 to the early fourteenth century. It provides the background for the three case studies outlined in the Introduction, which will be set out detail in Chapters Two, Three and Four. During this period, populations across Europe increased significantly as a result of relative peace, little migration and freedom from plague. This increase resulted in a steadily growing volume of agricultural produce, which in turn led to a requirement for more markets, the development and expansion of towns and the need to be able to use cash and credit for trade. Three statistics demonstrating these changes in England are shown in Table 1.1:[57]

Table 1.1: Population, national income and money in circulation in England 1086–1300

	1086	**1300**
Population	2.25m	6m
National Income	£0.4m	£4.66m
Money in Circulation	£37,500	£900,000

The recent book on economic growth by Broadberry et al. covers the period 1270 to 1870, but also included figures for the population of England just after the Conquest. His estimates differ from those used in Table 1.1 but also show a significant increase in population (from 1.7m in 1086 to 4.689m in1315).[58] Growth

[57] R. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.229; D.Wood, ed., *Medieval Money Matters (*Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), p.79; J.Hatcher and M.Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.138-39. Monetary figures exclude inflation.

[58] S. Broadberry, B.M.S.Campbell, A.Klein. M. Overton, B. van Leeuwen, *British Economic Growth 1270-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.20, Table 1.06. The book does not have figures of national income and money in circulation before 1270.

in Table 1.1 is 3.75million and in Broadberry et al 3.19m, and the impact would have been broadly similar. This growth fuelled the key economic and architectural developments after the Norman Conquest.

The first section of this chapter reviews architectural change, in particular the rebuilding of almost all large church buildings, the spread of castles across the land and the impact of these buildings on the landscape. The second section looks at key economic factors such as the development of markets and towns, changes in agricultural production and the growth in personal wealth of the great lay lords and the church.

Architectural development

Post-Conquest buildings in the case studies

Bury St. Edmunds Abbey church and the castles at Bungay, Framlingham and Colchester reflect both the building boom and the sharp change in architectural style after the Conquest.[59] At the same time, in the countryside, manor houses, hunting lodges and other domestic complexes were being built, while in the towns housing was being constructed in stone and timber for merchants, craftsmen and labourers. Together these buildings gave a new look to the landscape of the countryside and towns.[60]

The case studies are primarily concerned with the function of buildings and the use of space rather than architectural style. For this reason, published definitions of the characteristics of Romanesque architecture and information on Saxon inheritance are used as a basis for looking at the buildings on the three estates.[61] Within this approach, differences of view about form and design have been explored using structures, ruins and archaeological findings. The links of St. Edmund's Abbey to expanded functions such as pilgrimage and a new liturgy are explored, as is the influence on castle design of factors such as display, literature and fashion. On domestic buildings, different views on the design of halls and chambers that have emerged are examined, together with different theories about the functions and variety of urban buildings. This includes analysing the relationship between urban and rural buildings, and the design and durability of rural peasant buildings.

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[59] R. Plant, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture c.1050-1200', in C.Harper-Bill and E.van Houts, eds., *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), p.215.

[60] Details in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

[61] For instance, Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*; J. Goodall, *The English Castle*; J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997); Liddiard, R. *Castles in Context: Power,Symbolism and Landscape 1066-1500* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2005; S. Pearson 'Medieval Houses in English Towns: Form and Location' *Vernacular Architecture* vol. 40 (2009) 1-22.

Anglo-Saxon heritage

There are three areas where there is at least some evidence for Anglo–Saxon heritage: west-end towers, a simpler nave and chancel and the use of decoration.[62] Few Anglo-Saxon buildings remain, and there is no major complete cathedral extant, though there is some documentary evidence for eleven of the greater English churches, including Canterbury and Elmham. From this it seems there was a preference for the square east end, although some were polygonal.[63] Some of the most extensive physical evidence is at the Church of St. Peter at Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire — one of only three surviving Anglo-Saxon churches (Figure 1.2). Distinctive Saxon features at St. Peter's are a tower at the west end and a square east end. The potential Anglo-Saxon connection with the Norman towers of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey towers is considered in Chapter Two.

The second feature is that, spatially, the remaining Saxon churches seem to have been simpler in their design, constructed with a nave and chancel, sometimes with a transept and apsidal east end but rarely with side aisles.[64] This may, however, be a function of the extant churches being parish churches rather than abbeys or cathedrals. Alistair Service quotes as an example the church of Escomb, dated to c.680, which has an undecorated nave, a square chancel and simple chancel arch (Figure1.3).[65]

The third feature relates to recent evidence of a strong Anglo-Saxon tradition of decoration in paint, stone and plaster. As an example, Warwick Rodwell has reconstructed the possibly painted decoration of an arch in the church of Deerhurst (Glos.) built from 800-1020 AD (Figure 1.4a).[66] In the light of this research, he argues that the exterior walls of extant Anglo-Saxon churches were rendered and then painted in contrasting colours to make a striking impression which would be lost without some delineation of the pilaster strips and blind arcading (Figure 1.4b).[67] In addition, he suggests that painted tiles were used for both floor and wall decoration.[68] Fernie also postulates that the influence of Anglo-Saxon architecture in terms of decoration, layout and the use of towers continued until 1100 and persisted in the workmanship of many Norman buildings, lasting longest in rural areas.[69] The possibility that decoration in St. Edmund's Abbey may have reflected Anglo-Saxon traditions is considered in Chapter Two.

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[62] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, (London:Batsford 1983), p.141.

[63] A.W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930), pp.85-95.

[64] Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.37-43.

[65] A. Service, *Buildings of Britain, Anglo Saxon and Norman (*London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1982), p.20.

[66] W. Rodwell, 'Appearances Can Be Deceptive: Building and Decorating Anglo-Saxon Churches', *JBAA* vol. 165 (2012), p.22.

[67] Ibid., p.30.

[68] Ibid, pp.46-49 and 52-54.

[69] Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo Saxons*, pp.162-163.

Romanesque architecture

From 1066 to the mid-thirteenth century, a new architectural language developed, which, with its massive columns and lofty height was impressively different from the earlier simpler church buildings.[70] In particular, in the buildings of the twelfth century rather than the eleventh, exuberant sculptural decoration was applied to walls, piers, arches and capitals.[71] Many of the more complex components such as pier forms were likely to be found only in the larger ecclesiastical buildings, but decorative features could be part of a range of both ecclesiastical and secular structures. There is evidence of this in the interior of castles, including their chapels (see Figure 1.8), the Norman tower that marks the entrance to the great west front of Bury Abbey (see Figure 2.1), the west front of the priory church at Castle Acre (see Figure 1.7) and in guildhalls.[72]

In 1971, George Zarnecki maintained that architecture in Normandy, particularly in Caen, had been both impressive and important, and was the foundation for post-Conquest architecture in England. [73] The mid-eleventh century Church of St. Etienne in Caen (Figure 1.6) shows a three-storied elevation, with prominent galleries and clerestories with wall passages that were adopted in late eleventh century English cathedrals such as Ely (Figure 1.1). More than 40 years later, Lindy Grant suggested that, partly because of opportunity and the wealth of English abbeys, English building was more experimental than that of Normandy, and in particular when it came to size. This is supported by the fact that in the second half of the eleventh century, ten of the twelve churches in Europe with naves longer than 90m (300 ft.) were in England, with Bury having a nave of 147m (485 feet) — longer than St. Peter's in Rome.[74]

The wholesale rebuilding of major churches in England after 1066 developed from the aspirations of the Norman clerical hierarchy but also from different liturgical requirements. The monastic requirements of many of the new foundations included the need to accommodate the daily services required by monastic rules and to keep these separated from pilgrims and ordinary worshippers. The result was a significantly larger building because of the separate monastic choir. At the same time, many of the rebuilt churches became, or expanded their role as, centres of pilgrimage (such as Bury, with the relics of St. Edmund), and needed to allow for the circulation of pilgrims. Coupled with this was the tradition of extensive endowment of land and wealth to churches and abbeys from the new Norman lords, with an associated requirement for masses to be said in perpetuity. This led to an increase

[70] Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, P.191. Stalley summarises techniques employed including the compound pier, string courses, roll mouldings and cushion capitals, wall arcades, windows and doorways with recessed orders and arcaded galleries.

[71] Ibid.

[72] For instance, Bury and Colchester Guildhalls – see Chapters Two and Four.

[73] G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque* (London: The Herbert Press, 1989; first published 1971), p.52.

[74] Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey', p.5.

in the number of dedicated chapels needed in the church. The design of the Abbey at Bury is analysed to determine how far these developments were reflected there. While liturgical requirements may have led to changes in the spatial design of east ends and additional apsidal chapels, the motivation for the size and decorative richness of many Norman buildings after 1066 seems to have been as much about impressing through scale and the quality of design and materials.[75] Ambition and a desire to impress were not of course limited to bishops and abbots. The castles of kings and nobles were also complex buildings with many functions. They established authority, displayed wealth and were a visual reminder of the owner's control over the land and people.

Secular buildings — castles

Field surveys and archaeological excavations at castle sites revealed that many of the earliest Norman castles were constructed as defensive ring works surrounding a lightly fortified house, rather than a motte and bailey.[76] As a result, a dispute arose about whether the castle was not so much a Norman import as a development of the Saxon enclosure or *burgh*. The primary meaning of *burgh* was a fortified or defended place (etymologically derived from the Anglo-Saxon *beorgan,* to defend) and one characteristic was that a prosperous thegn with a house and barns and fields would construct a *burgh*, with a gatehouse or *burgheat*.[77] The controversy is not yet settled, though recently John Goodall has suggested that while there is evidence that Anglo-Saxon thegns constructed defended enclosures with fortified gate houses, there is still no convincing evidence that they built either great towers or mottes.[78]

There was, however, no doubt in the minds of contemporary chroniclers that castles were a major factor in William's success in conquering England. For instance, in 1090 Orderic Vitalis wrote that the Norman castles were such that 'the English — in spite of their courage and love of fighting — could only put up a weak resistance to their enemies'.[79] The authors of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* supported the view that the Normans were able to subdue the land from their castles and complained that: 'Every powerful man built castles... and they filled the country full of castles...and they oppressed the wretched people of the country severely with

[75] Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey', p.4: R. Higham,'Timber castles, a re-assessment', in R. Liddiard, ed., *Anglo-Norman Castles*, pp.23-27.
[76] Liddiard, ed., *Anglo-Norman Castles*, pp.23-40 and 105-118.
[77] A. Williams, 'A bell house and a burgheat' in Liddiard, ed., *Anglo-Norman Castles*, pp.23-27.
[78] Goodall,*The English Castle,* p.57.
[79] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History,*Vol. II, M. Chibnall ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1980), p.218.

castle building'.[80] The idea that a military role was the primary function of the castle was supported by many eminent historians.[81] Up until the 1960s it would have been rare for architectural historians to discuss the architecture of castles using the same terminology as was commonly used for ecclesiastical buildings. Instead, a whole category of military architecture, focussing on features like arrow loops, murder holes and defensive keeps, emerged in pioneering histories such as G.T Clark's *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*, published in1884-5. A succession of books was published from 1912 through to the middle of the twentieth century based on the theory that castle architecture was governed by military considerations.[82] As late as 1995, Michael Thompson argued that 'the immense thickness of the walls of hall keeps, compared with say, a church tower, is surely confirmation of their defensive purpose' and that 'the whole intention of building the hall in the keep was defensive'.[83]

Debate over the primary function of castles was taken forward by Charles Coulson, who questioned whether the architectural features of castles were exclusively or even mainly designed for a military purpose.[84] Taking up this theme, Liddiard suggested that in many areas after the first years of the Conquest, especially where castles were being built of stone, the use of military architecture such as arrow slits and crenellations had a symbolic significance which was as important as the military role.[85] This dual approach has gained strength and broadened over the years, particularly after the publication of Heslop's studies of Orford Castle and Norwich Castle keep.[86] These examined in depth the decorative nature of the architecture, the emphasis on courtly living and the opulence of the interiors. At the same time, Fernie put forward the proposition that the design of castles reflected the fact that a ruling class for whom warfare was a way of life needed buildings which projected power and included the attributes of the architecture of defence and attack,

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[80] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* Revised trans., D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. Tucker, eds., , *Revised translation* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), p.199.

[81] These included G. T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture in England* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1884); and R. A. Brown, *English Medieval Castles*, (New York: Batsford, 1954).

[82] E. Armitage, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London: Maney Publishing, 1912); A. H. Thompson, *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages* (London: Wentworth Press, 2016; first published 1912); Brown, *English Medieval Castles* ; J. Beeler 'Castles and Strategy in Norman and early Angevin England' *Speculum* vol. 31, (1956) pp. 581-601

[83] M. Thompson,*The Medieval Hall: The Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 600-1600 AD* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 88 and 90.

[84] C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *JBAA* (1979) p.132.

[85] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.7.

[86] T.A. Heslop, 'Orford Castle, pp.36-58; *Norwich Castle Keep: Romanesque Architecture and the Social Context* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1994).

whatever the military necessities.[87] By 2000, Coulson could claim that the architecture of castles was inextricably bound up with politics and administration.[88] In the twenty-first century, the predominantly military role of the castle has been further challenged by architectural historians including John Goodall, Robert Liddiard and Abigail Wheatley.[89] Each has suggested that in the majority of cases, after the early wooden motte and bailey structures of the 1060s and 1070s that were built quickly to contain rebellion and assert dominance, the stone castles that replaced them were rather poorly designed for a military role. Instead, they were designed to impress rather than oppress, and this outweighed their potential military function. Goodall claims that even at the early date of the eleventh century, the huge size of the royal castle at Colchester, on the site of the original Temple of Claudius, could be an attempt by the Conqueror to appropriate the Roman past and to present himself as a modern emperor.[90]

Siege warfare

This redefinition of the castle as a centre of power, government and display rather than primarily a major defensive engine has been reinforced by research into how few of them were actually involved in warfare. In his chapter on castles at war, Liddiard maps the numbers of castles and numbers of sieges by county for the years 1066-1652. The number of sieges is shown in Table 1.2:[91]

Table 1.2: Sieges in England

Dates	Sieges
1066-1080	6
1081-1100	9
1101-1120	4
1121-1160 Matilda and Stephen civil wars	120
1161-1200 Henry II and Richard I	30
1201-1216 reign of King John	70

[87] C. Coulson, 'Cultural Realities and Reappraisals in English Castle Studies', *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 22 (1996), p.177; E. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England,* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2002), p.49.

[88] C. Coulson, 'Peaceable Power in English Castles', *Anglo-Norman Studies* vol. 23 (2000), p.69.

[89] Goodall, *The English Castle,* pp.9-10; Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.24; A.Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York: York Medieval Press, 2004), pp.147-8.

[90] Goodall, *The English Castle,* p.8.

[91] Liddiard, *Castles in Context,* pp. 71-2.

During the same 400 years, there were 61 castles in Suffolk and Norfolk and there were just 18 sieges.[92]
This data supports the belief that it was the business of castle design to prevent rather than deal with attacks, so that looking menacing was more important than actually being able to withstand a siege. The concept of castles not being primarily instruments of warfare is supported by events. For instance, in1163 Hugh Bigod paid Henry II sacks of gold to avert the potential siege of Bungay Castle.[93] It seems likely that these payments were in part due to political expediency, but also to avoid the prospect of huge costs. At Exeter in 1136, the three-month siege was reported to have cost some 15 thousand marks.[94] The castle, then, could be more accurately defined as 'the residence of a lord made imposing through the architectural trappings of fortification.'[95] Taking this definition as a starting point, there are still some standard architectural features of castles that have no parallel in other buildings, including arrow loops and murder holes.

Walls and ditches

Walls were still seen as essentially a protective rather than decorative feature, though they also played a part in establishing the castle in its landscape.[96] However, walls were also built to protect towns and monasteries, a rare borrowing from military to civil architecture and even in castles were not infrequently used for access and additional living space, so weakening their defensive capacity.
The military purpose of the encircling ditch which at first sight appears to be for defence, has also been called into question. The ditch, thought to have its roots in the Roman *vellum,* has been reappraised at some major castle sites. For example, during the excavation at Whorton Castle in North Yorkshire the ditch was found to have most probably been an ornamental water feature, part of a designed landscape rather than a defensive structure.[97] The use of lakes as a decorative rather than, or as well as, a defensive feature is discussed in Chapter Three.

Towers

In addition to the debates about origin and primary function, a third issue emerged centred on the function and practicalities of the great tower keeps built in Norman England from the end of the eleventh century, such as those at Castle Hedingham

[92] Ibid., Figure 34.
[93] See Chapter Three.
[94] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.85.
[95] Goodall, *The English Castle*, pp.5-6.
[96] See Chapter Three
[97] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, (London: Equinox Publishing, 2002), p.81.

and Porchester. Creighton suggests that these tower keeps, also known as donjons, were neither very effective militarily nor ideal for domestic use, given problems of access and light, and should be seen as establishing seignurial authority.[98]
Impressive towers which were constructed below a high point — and so more vulnerable to attack — have also been found, for instance at Castle Acre in Norfolk, supporting the idea that deterrence rather than defence was a priority. The reasons for the construction of towers are explored using the examples of Bigod castles and the royal castle at Colchester.[99]
Even in ecclesiastical buildings, such as the great west front of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, though little now remains, towers — a central tower flanked by two more towers, each in turn flanked by an octagon — would have added significantly to its impact.[100] The west front faced the centre of the town and was approached through the monumental Norman Gateway. Given the town's arguments with the Abbey in the late twelfth and again in the thirteenth century, the great west front was likely to have been at least in part a statement of authority.[101]

Castle mounds

Most Anglo-Norman castles — at least a thousand earthworks built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries across the country — are undocumented, but are likely to be the reason why the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to a 'country full of castles'.[102] While little remains of most of these castles, archaeological excavation has shown that their defences were considerable often including a mound with look out and defensive capacity.[103] To give some indication of their importance, N.J. Pounds includes a map of the size of mounds according to computed labour inputs. The table below shows his references for mounds constructed in Essex and Suffolk.[104]

[98] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, p.68.
[99] Chapters Three and Four.
[100] A. Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds 1182-1256*, pp.85-86.
[101] Detailed in Chapter Two.
[102] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.18; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Swanton M. trans. and ed, (Lonon: Phoenix press, 2000), p.199.
[103] Ibid., p.17.
[104] Pounds, *Medieval Castles*, p.19.

Table 1.3 Construction of mounds

Man days	Number of mounds
24000	1
16000	2
8000	5
3000	9

Given that the population of quite a substantial town such as Bury St. Edmunds was less than 4000, this was a huge requirement for labour and shows the perceived importance of such mounds to those who ordered their construction. Such work would have been undertaken by peasants and villeins at the command of their lord and may be another reason why the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to 'the oppression of the wretched people with castle building'.[105]
An indication of the possible impact of motte and bailey castles on town development has been revealed by a recent excavation in Chipping Ongar.[106] Published results for an excavation at the site of a motte and bailey castle erected by Count Eustace of Boulogne show how the town appears to have been deliberately laid out in an enclosure to the west of the castle, with the church near the end of the high street, which itself acted as a market site with houses on either side.[107] The part that castles played in town development on the chosen estates is explored in chapters Three and Four.

Domestic architecture — the hall

The hall, inherited from the Anglo-Saxons, appears to have been ubiquitous and is a consistent feature in domestic architecture, whether castle or hunting lodge, a bishop's palace, merchant house or the centre of a farmhouse complex. Pounds states that 'there had in the first place to be a hall, the focus of life within the castle, where the community ate, and a significant part of it was accustomed to sleep'.[108] Goodall is also clear that a great hall would be found in any major residence built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[109] At the same time, one of

[105] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Swanton, trans. and ed. p.199.
[106] T. Ennis, 'A medieval Site at Chipping Ongar: Excavations at Banson's Lane 1998', *ESAH Transactions*, vol. 2 4th Series 2011 pp.124-167; *Domesday Book Essex*, A. Rumble, ed., , pp.20,46.
[107] Pevsner, N, *The Buildings of England:Essex*, Revised by J. Bettely, (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.233.
[108] Pounds, *Medieval Castle*, p.185.
[109] Goodall, *English Castles*, pp.24-25.

the hall's traditional features, a central fire, also appears to be ubiquitous even though chimneys were known in England, especially where halls were on the first floor of castles.[110] Fireplaces and flues were in general use in the eleventh century on the continent, but the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon central hearth appears to have been valued in England into the High Middle Ages.[111]

The Saxon hall resembled a barn with a central hearth and a lofty roof for smoke to escape, and was generally made of timber.[112] There is some documentary evidence of this heritage from Anglo-Saxon times both in the structure and use of the hall and how it developed over time. One of the earliest references is in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf,* probably composed at around 700 A.D, in which the poet praises Hrothgar's hall, describing it as 'a large and noble feasting hall…this greatest of halls, …towered high, lofty and wide gabled…the glorious timbered hall, adorned with gold'.[113] Architecturally, the inside of the hall appears to have rarely had the intricate decoration of Anglo-Saxon churches, and pre-conquest halls were notable in that they did not have aisles. Michael Thompson suggests that this may have been because aisles in domestic dwellings at this time were generally used for housing cattle, not therefore adding to the reputation of the owners.[114] After the Conquest, piers and arcades in halls became respectable, even desirable, in secular buildings such as Oakham Hall (Figure 1.5). Some halls had an upper floor and many were very large. For instance, the secular hall at Wickham in Essex is recorded in lease agreements as being 14.9m (49 ft.) long and 4.5m (15ft.) high with a central nave 6.8m (22.5 ft.) wide and two aisles each 2.m (6.5ft) wide and 2.4m (8ft) high.[115]

While there is general agreement about the continued existence of a hall, there is an argument about whether the hall was on the first or the ground floor. Stalley discusses the possible origin of the residential or 'hall' keep, evolving from the simple stone hall of the Loire valley in the eleventh century with halls mostly on an upper level over a form of basement.[116] Excavations in 1960-1962 at the site of the royal palace at Cheddar also revealed a tenth-century first-floor hall; and the Bayeux Tapestry shows this type of hall with people feasting at a table over a vaulted space (Figure 1.9).[117] There are also differences of view about first-floor halls and chambers, especially following archaeological excavations (see next paragraph). Some accommodation for the lord and his family appears to have been incorporated in a single building possibly attached to a hall. In manors such as

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[110] Such as those in Colchester Castle – see Chapter Four.

[111] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, p.101.

[112] M.E. Wood,*The English Medieval House* (London: Phoenix House, 1965), p.27

[113] W. Horn, 'The Origin of the Bay System' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1958) vol.17 no. 2, 2-23; K. Crossley-Holland, *Beowulf*: verse translation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), lines 64-72 and 81-2.

[114] M. Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, p.26.

[115] Horn, 'The Bay System', pp.10-11.

[116] Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p.88.

[117] P Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar* (Oxford:BAR 65, 1979).

Cuxham in Oxfordshire, the hall and other buildings were set out in linear form (Figure 1.10).

The controversy over whether most halls were on the ground or first floor has been influenced by archaeological work at Boothby Pagnell near Grantham. The standing remains of a manor house were thought to show that there was a hall on the upper floor, but new work revealed the footings of a possible hall by the side of the remaining building. This raised the question of whether the remains were a first-floor hall, or a chamber block which had 'lost' the adjacent ground-floor hall.[118] Patrick Faulkner in 1975, followed in 1983 by Margaret Wood, suggested that the first-floor hall was introduced by William the Conqueror and his followers, and widely adopted in royal and manorial buildings.[119] In 1993 John Blair challenged this belief that a first-floor hall, such as those depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, was the predominant structure of English manorial buildings of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.[120] He argued that the storied structures usually called first-floor halls were in fact 'chamber blocks, once accompanied by detached ground floor halls of the traditional kind'. He suggested that the ground-floor hall evolved into the later medieval form of hall with a cross passage and attachment of a private chamber at the upper end.[121] Recent work by Dempsey in Ireland supports the view that for seigneurial buildings there was often a ground-floor hall and separate chamber for living accommodation.[122] This controversy has not yet been resolved.

While the issue of ground- or first-floor halls focussed on larger complexes, other smaller buildings had features which may be classed as halls. Few survive from before the early thirteenth century, but among them are manor houses or their equivalents, including Little Chesterford Hall in Essex, near the king's estate of Great Chesterford.[123] There is also documentary evidence of halls in rural manor complexes.[124] These were a focus for demesne management, as well as providing, in the larger complexes, accommodation for the lord and his family when they visited their estates. More recently, archaeological research has shown that the hall may also have been a central element in lower status merchant houses in towns and complexes built by wealthy peasants in the countryside.[125] The documentary

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[118] J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 69-70.

[119] P.A. Faulkner 'Domestic Planning from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries', *Archaeological Journal*, vol.115, 1958) pp. 54-117;); M. E. Wood, *The English Medieval House* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p.16.

[120] *Bayeux Tapestry* Plates *3, 32, 54.* (London: The Folio Society ,1973).

[121] J. Blair, 'Hall and Chamber: English and domestic planning 1000-1250', in G. Meiron-Jones and M. Jones eds., *Manorial and Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France* (London: Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper vol. 15, 1993), pp.1-2.

[122] K. Dempsey 'Understanding "Hall-Houses": Debating Seignurial Buildings in Ireland in the 13th Century', *Medieval Archaeology* vol.61/2 (2017), pp. 372-399.

[123] See Chapter Four.

[124] J. Walker 'Late twelfth century and early thirteenth century aisled buildings: a comparison', *Vernacular Architecture* vol. 30 (1999), pp.21-53. Also see Chapter Two.

[125] Grenville, 'Urban and Rural Households', p.118.

evidence for hall complexes on the three groups of estates is analysed in the manorial buildings sections of the case studies and the sections on the towns of Bury and Colchester.

Other secular buildings — urban housing

Issues arising in the context of urban housing include how closely it resembled housing in the countryside, how commercial requirements influenced design and how the less wealthy and the poor were housed. Controversy was initiated by W.A. Pantin, who published a number of influential articles including 'Medieval town-house plans', in which he put forward the idea that the urban house conformed to the rural tradition of having an open hall as a central feature.[126] He maintained that the town house represents a '*rus in urbe'* tradition, an example of how much the medieval town remained part of the countryside.[127] According to his definition, there were two main types of urban hall houses: those built parallel to the street front and those at right angles. Some 20 years later, John Schofield broadly supported Pantin's approach but identified four types in London rather than two.[128] Jane Grenville, in 1997, questioned the exclusivity of Pantin's definitions. She suggested that a wider approach was needed, taking more account of the relationship of the commercial and domestic functions of urban housing and recognising that many urban houses were not substantial enough to include a hall.[129] Grenville used examples from twelfth and thirteenth century Chester and York, and argued that there was a much greater variety of housing in many towns, especially in larger towns where space in the commercial centre was at a premium. She identified rows of shops on the street frontage with halls behind, evidence of two- and three-storied buildings to optimise space available for multiple occupation and noted that shops and living space were not infrequently rented to different tenants.
However, in her 2008 article on urban and rural households, Grenville discusses why both the better-off rural and urban householder still tended to design houses with a conventional hall.[130] She maintains that in fourteenth-century housing the hierarchy of the rural household combined with innate conservatism was expressed in the

[126] W. A. Pantin, 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', *Medieval Archaeology* vol. 6-7 (1962-3), pp. 202-239.
[127] Ibid., p.202.
[128] J. Schofield, ed., *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, (London: London Typographical Society 135, 1987).
[129] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p.171 and pp.185-6.
[130] J. Grenville, 'Urban and rural houses and households in the late Middle Ages', in M.Kowalski and P. J. P. Goldberg, eds. *Medieval Domesticity* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press 2008), pp. 92-123.

persistence of the open hall in an urban context. This would seem to support the 1960s approach of '*rus in urbe*', at least for the houses of the relatively wealthy.[131]

Recent Developments

In the twenty-first century, the emphasis on form and function as governing principles for assessing urban building has been taken further. Felicity Riddy and Sarah Rees-Jones in 2008 and Sarah Pearson in 2009 established a more flexible approach to urban buildings.[132] All three use the growing body of archaeological evidence to support the concept that there was a wide variety of urban housing.[133] This is supplemented by documentary evidence, particularly the records of taxation which list chattels, enabling definition of the rooms in which they were found.[134] These records also indicate the significant proportion of those living and working in the towns who could only aspire to rent the cheapest housing such as a cottage or single room built from timber. Research into twelfth- and thirteenth-century Winchester has established that large numbers of people, possibly at least 30% of the town's population, lived in cottages or a room above a shop, without cooking facilities or privies.[135]

The evidence points to traders and craftsmen needing an affordable central location to both make and sell their wares: possibly with living space as well, but with the commercial requirement being more important than the social aspects. However, while more wealthy merchants also wanted to live near the market for commercial reasons, with their greater resources some chose to locate their living accommodation in a courtyard behind the main shops. Where there was no pressing need to be near the centre, they could and did choose a site for their main living area which was nearer the outskirts. There, space was less critical and a more traditional complex could be built with a hall, chambers, yard and garden.[136]

These studies of English town housing are complemented by the research and comparisons of Anthony Quiney, who refers to possible European prototypes.[137] In Flanders, almost certainly known to traders from the East Coast, merchants constructed great stone houses of five or more stories, where the undercroft and ground floor provided storage and warehousing, an upper floor was a public hall

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[131] Pantin, Medieval English Town-House Plans', footnote 133.

[132] F. Riddy, 'Burgeis Domesticity in Late Medieval England', and S. Rees-Jones, 'Building Domesticity in the City: English Urban Housing before the Black Death', in Kowalski and Goldberg, eds., *Medieval Domesticity*, p.14-37 and 66-92; Pearson, 'Medieval Houses' 1-22.

[133] Examples include C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton. The Port and Trading Community A.D.1000-1600* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); D.M.Owen, ed., *The Making of King's Lynn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984): D.Keene, ed., A *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Tresswell*, 1987.

[134] For Instance, the 1296 and 1301 taxation of Colchester - see Chapter Four.

[135] M. Biddle ed., *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, Winchester Studies vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

[136] Pearson, 'Medieval Houses', p.18.

[137] Quiney, *Town Houses in Medieval Britain*.

where business was done, and the floors above that were living space.[138] However, the merchant houses of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England were much more like the houses of middle-range traders which were plentiful in Burgundy and in towns like Rouen (Figure 1.11). These were quite modest, generally consisting of a ground-floor shop with one or two stories of living accommodation above. The ground floor had no domestic use, being either a workshop, warehouse or retail shop. Some had a groin vaulted undercroft lit by small round-headed windows, a pattern which can be seen in Moyses Hall at Bury St. Edmunds (Figures 1.12 and 1.13).[139] The use of undercrofts is covered in Chapters Two and Four.

Stone houses were often specifically mentioned in documentary records, indicating that they were an investment for their builders, whether landowner or tenant, who must have been of at least middling status to be able to manage the expenditure. Stone houses were more durable and reduced the ongoing hazard of fire, but given the costs, there was probably some element of social aspiration.[140]

There is general acceptance that the majority of structures in towns from the eleventh until the seventeenth centuries were built in timber, not stone. In particular, housing for the urban poor, who significantly outnumbered wealthy burgesses, could only be profitable if it was affordable, and affordable building could only be achieved in timber.[141] Such buildings were generally much smaller than those of the wealthy. Initial plot sizes could be up to three perches (50 feet) but they were often subdivided on important trading streets to provide more units, often closer to 5m or some 15ft wide.[142]

Archaeological and documentary research has been conducted in London to determine the main types of small-scale housing in the early medieval period. Two types in particular, a single room with several stories above and two-roomed houses with two or three floors above, appear to have dominated the streets.[143] A few examples survived in Ashburton and Bristol until the 1970s; but they were once as common as they are now rare. They could be built against the walls of larger houses with courtyards, in back lanes without a street frontage, especially for the tradesman who sold his labour rather than his goods, and in very crowded areas such as The Shambles in York.

Poorer citizens with no land at all would have wanted to keep their more meagre stores of grain or their one cow or pig close to their housing. A town house in Perth has been reconstructed from excavated evidence. Measuring 4 x 8m (approx. 12 x 25ft), it was a single room built with wattle walls covered with clay, some timber uprights and a roof of straw thatch. The room would also have served as a work

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[138] Ibid., p.173, but no English houses of this type have yet been found.

[139] Ibid., p. 176.

[140] Rees-Jones, *Building Domesticity*, p.83.

[141] Quiney, *Town Houses*, p.235.

[142] A perch was normally 5m (16½ ft): Rees-Jones, *Building Domesticity*, pp.74-75.

[143] J.Schofield and A.Vince, *Medieval London Houses*, (London:Leicester Press,1994), pp.28-31.

space.[144] These theories of form and function in urban housing are reviewed in the sections on Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester.

Other domestic architecture — rural housing

For many years it was thought that the poor quality of peasant housing meant that there was little physical evidence of rural peasant housing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[145] The only evidence available is from excavations of deserted medieval villages. From such excavations, Beresford and Hurst concluded that peasant dwellings usually consisted of two small rooms built of wood or turf and unbaked earth, often as sunken huts with wattle hurdling. The walls were lined with wattle and daub. Such construction, it was suggested, would generally only last for some 20 years at the most.[146] In contrast, in 1997 Jane Grenville suggested that there was considerable evidence for more soundly constructed dwellings and that the cost of a rural house of this kind (estimated at between £2 and £4) was within the reach of freemen with some land, tradesmen and the richer villagers.[147] The frequent finds of locks and substantial door frames, which would hardly have been necessary if there were flimsy walls, also support the idea that early peasant housing was reasonably well made.[148] A recent excavation at Days Road in Suffolk has revealed remains from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries which also support the theory of well-built peasant housing. A range of buildings were discovered including, probably, an aisled hall, 15m x 8m (46 x 26ft) wide, with a number of detached service buildings.[149]
However, it seems likely that in the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries the majority of rural houses for the very poor were small cottages measuring perhaps 3 x 3.6m (10 x 12 ft.) or 3 x 6m (10 x 20ft) with an unglazed window area, and with a central hearth and roof opening.[150] These dwellings have left few traces that can be recovered today, but documentary references to messuages do occur, and these would contain the tofts and crofts (enclosed areas usually defined by ditches), a cottage, an area for keeping animals and a patch of ground large enough to cultivate crops to supplement the diet of, or provide marketable produce for, the

[144] Dyer, *Making a Living in The Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520 (Harlow:Longman Group Ltd, 1995*, p.182.
[145] H.E. Hallam, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume II 1042-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.949.
[146] M. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, '*Deserted Medieval Villages' Studies* 2nd Edition *(*Gloucester: Sutton Publishing, 1989, first edition, 1971), pp.89-91.
[147] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Socal Change in England c1200-1520 (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1989)*, pp.160-167.
[148] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p.126; Dyer and Jones eds., *Deserted Villages Revisited*, p.106.
[149] Tabor, 'A Medieval Farmstead', pp. 551-581.
[150] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.157.

tenant.[151] The design of peasant housing is explored using archaeological and documentary evidence from leases and charters of Bury Abbey and the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk and the manor of Little Chesterford, Essex.
The next sections look at economic development and how individuals' choice of building might have been affected by their access to income.

Economic Development

The impact of the Norman Conquest is explored before looking at the changes in Western Europe that also affected England.

Impact of the Norman Conquest

Two different views on the economic impact of the Conquest are presented in the studies of Marjorie Chibnall and Hugh Thomas.[152] Chibnall suggests that the Norman building programme helped to develop the economy in the short term, as it entailed large purchases of labour and materials and cash was put back into the hands of labourers.[153] In contrast, Thomas claims that the Norman Conquest had a negative initial impact on the English economy because of the actions that William and his army took to defeat the rebellions of the years 1066-1070.[154] Any impact must have been short-term, as the economic growth that characterised the 200 years after 1086 in England could only have taken place if the underlying economy was soundly based.
Dyer presents an alternative view of the downturn in the economic fortunes of peasants immediately after the Conquest, attributing it to disruption of trade, high rents and taxes.[155] He concludes that the downturn was short-lived and postulates that by 1086 the country was 'rationally organised, well-populated and productive', even though 'there were weaknesses and there was uneven development'.
The evidence of growth, markets and urban development shows that, rather than spearheading major economic change, the Norman Conquest temporarily interrupted the economic growth that had been occurring in England since the tenth century, though this varied region by region. Overall, and especially in the Eastern counties — with the exception of perhaps ten to fifteen years immediately after the invasion — steady economic growth continued, mirroring the growth and

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[151] Ibid., pp.87-88.
[152] M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); H. Thomas, *The Norman Conquest: England after William the Conqueror* (New York and UK: Rowan and Littlefield, 2008).
[153] Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest*, pp.146-147.
[154] Thomas, *The Norman Conquest*, pp.94-97; *Domesday Book* shows a fall in the values of manors between 1066 and 1086 of up to 40% in Sussex and 60% in Yorkshire.
[155] Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp.91 and 99.

wealth development pattern in the rest of Europe. Economic growth was not, therefore, initiated by the Norman Conquest, but any downturn due to the Conquest was short-lived. This approach is the background to the case studies.

Population growth

After the decline in 600-800 A.D, Europe saw its population triple from around 18-20 million at the beginning of the tenth century to close to 60 million by the mid-fourteenth century.[156] As the Introduction sets out, it is estimated that the population in England also tripled once stable government had been established in the late ninth century by Alfred and the disruptive Danish invasions of the late eighth and early ninth century had largely ceased. This security, coupled with an end to the virulent plagues which occurred between the sixth and ninth centuries, led to earlier marriage and more children living to adulthood. In turn, this population growth could be said to have resulted in significant changes.
These included the need to cater for an increased population and support the growth of trade, markets and towns. In turn this encouraged technological adaptation and more intensive agriculture. The growth of towns also led to greater availability of waged labouring jobs and growth in non-agrarian jobs which could absorb some of the increased population. Additional trade and markets led to a more extensive cash and credit economy.[157] This movement towards a money economy and growth in trade replaced the barter economy of small local markets. There are, however, conflicting theories about the impact of population growth.

Contrasting theories of population and resource use

Two contrasting theories about population and resource use provide a framework for the case studies. The older theory, arising from the work of Professor Postan, is based on the idea that additional production in the twelfth and early thirteenth century in England came from bringing additional land into cultivation, rather than increasing the productivity of land already cultivated, and that such additional production, located on marginal lands, would decline over time. Later theories, such as those of Hallam and Britnell in the late twentieth century, are based on the proposition that productivity did increase on all land resources and land was in fact better managed.
Postan published his innovative work as a book in 1972, summarising his work as professor of Ecionomic History at Cambridge from 1938-1965. He applied economic

[156] K.G. Persson, *An Economic History of Europe: Knowledge, Institutions and Growth, 600 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.30.
[157] Britnell, *A Commercialising Economy*, p.103.

and demographic theory to the study of the English Middle Ages.[158] He used a range of contemporary records and secondary texts to suggest that by 1086 all the areas of richer and lighter soils that could be easily and productively worked, and much of the lands which could be classed as second choice, were already in use.[159] He postulated that it was the crops from additional reclaimed land that contributed to increased output, rather than technological change making land and labour more productive. This in turn led him to conclude that, while such additional land led to short-term growth in output, there would be an inevitable decline after the first few years because the reclaimed lands were inherently less fertile. He suggested that there was a decline in productivity after the mid-thirteenth century due to the combination of extending arable cropping into these less fertile areas, a shortage of pasture and the effect of a growing population seeking to make a living from a finite land resource. He also quoted the lack of investment in the land by most landlords, a more conservative approach to land management by monasteries and the reduction in estate productivity on monastic and other estates when they were taken over by royal commissioners during vacancies and minorities as factors contributing to poorer yields.[160] Postan did, however, make reference to specific areas where economic growth was due to technological change and to estates where improvements were recorded.[161] Some of these estates, particularly those in eastern Norfolk, are explored in the detailed research presented in this thesis.
Six years after Postan's theories were first publishe, Miller and Hatcher presented a social and economic history of England's medieval rural economy in which they broadly agreed with his theory of declining yield and shortages. Using documentary evidence from a range of accounts, surveys and court rolls, they illustrated their conclusions with references to contemporary records of intermittent cropping, declining grain yields, and precarious reclamations in fenland areas.[162] They also agreed with the suggestion that ecclesiastical management tended to be more conservative..[163]

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[158] M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society (*London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson,1972).

[159] Including the estate accounts of Winchester, Westminster and Canterbury; Farmer's 'Price Fluctuation in Angevin England' and more general studies such as the Victoria County Histories and M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantations in England, Wales and Gascony* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967).

[160] Postan, *The Medieval Economy,* pp.101-102. At such times, the commissioners stripped the assets by selling oxen, sheep and pigs to make a profit for the king.

[161] Ibid., pp.64, 66,100-102.

[162] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society,* pp.56-57; Their sources included: *Customals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury*; collections of local records such as *Suffolk Hundred in the Year 1283*; general studies such as A.R. Bridbury, *Economic Growth in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Routledge, 1962); and estate and regional studies such as Titow's 'Land and Population of the Bishop of Winchester's Estates 1209-1350', Cambridge University Ph.D. dissertation, 1962.

[163] E. Miller 'England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: An Economic Contrast?' *EcHR New* Series, vol. 24, (1971) No.1, 1-14.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, critical reviews of Postan's theories on population and resource use began to be published. The first major challenge was a robust counter-proposition in the second volume of the *Agrarian History of England and Wales* published in 1988.[164] The author, H. E. Hallam, reviewed new evidence, particularly from the eastern counties of England, and concluded that, contrary to Postan's theory, the first movement towards a solution to the Malthusian problem of increasing the productivity of land began during the period up to 1350.[165] Hallam suggested that 'Europe is clever because it is crowded' or in other words, population growth stimulated beneficial change.[166] This approach was endorsed when, in 1993, Richard Britnell, looking at overall land resources, concluded that the additional land available was insufficient to feed England's population growth and therefore some increase in the productivity of land must have been achieved.[167] He claimed that clearing forests and draining marshes could only make a modest addition to the total land available for production, referring to an example from the Bishop of Worcester's estates.[168] The calculation that it was a practical impossibility to bring enough additional land into use to feed the population led to his conclusion that existing land must have been made more productive. Britnell's challenges were supported two years later when Miller and Hatcher, contrary to the views expressed in their earlier book on rural development, argued in their book on medieval towns that intensified and diversified exploitation of all types of terrain enabled agricultural output to be increased and rural England to support more people.[169]

In the twenty-first century, Persson questioned the basic principle of using land as a limiting resource influencing population growth. He suggested that there were too many factors influencing the productive capacity of land for it to be used as a restrictive factor. These included technological improvements, spread more rapidly with greater communication through markets, and the impact of proximity to urban centres which facilitated obtaining fertiliser and tailoring crops to urban needs.[170] In particular, he suggested that greater efficiency in production was the chief contributor to growth in agricultural output. Like Britnell and Miller and Hatcher, he believed there was a positive link between additional crops requiring more sale

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[164] Hallam, *Agrarian History* vol. 2.

[165] Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) argued that given limited land the supply of food would eventually constrain income and population growth. Persson, *Economic History*, p.42.

[166] Hallam, *Agrarian History*, p.1008.

[167] Britnell,*The Commercialisation of English Society*, p.103.

[168] Ibid. Between 1150 and 1299 clearance of some 2000 acres was achieved but represented only between 5% and 7% of the existing arable land, while the population doubled between 1180 and 1330.

[169] E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1093-1348* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.394-395.

[170] Persson, *Economic History of Europe*, p.49 and p.51.

outlets, more sale outlets resulting in more town development and more town development leading to increasing urban populations.[171]
Taking into account particularly the statistical data underlying Britnell's assumptions, the theory that additional crops must have been produced on land already in use is the framework adopted in this study for research into manors on the three groups of estates.

Technological change

Postan and others, including Miller and Hatcher in their 1978 book on medieval rural England, suggest that there were few technological improvements in agriculture during this period.[172] There were some during the period from 1066 to the early fourteenth century, which could be applied to all soils. In particular, animal harnesses were better designed to move the drag from throat to shoulder, improving speed and reducing effort, and iron ploughs were used to cut the soil more deeply releasing more nutrients.[173] Technological progress was largely made by practical experimentation, and widespread application was quite slow and patchy.[174] However, research into a range of estates such as those in eastern England has shown that there were other widespread improvements in cultivation which gave higher crop yields. These did not involve machinery but included the use of peas and beans as a fodder crop to regenerate soil fertility, additional and more thorough weeding and reducing fallow periods.[175]
Some of these techniques were applied in manors close to large markets and towns, especially in the South and East of England where higher prices could be achieved because of the demand for food from landless townspeople. Other improvements included matching crops more closely both to soil and demand, the importation of seed to prevent contamination and intensive clearance of soil to allow maximum growth of main crops. Hallam sets out a range of such innovations in eastern England, quoting from several of the great ecclesiastical estates including those of Ely and Bury St. Edmunds.[176] Additionally, in eastern England reduced costs were achieved by the increasing use of horses rather than oxen for ploughing.[177] There is little evidence that the horse plough increased crop production, but horses could

[171] Ibid., pp.62-63.
[172] Postan, *Medieval Economy*, pp.41-43; Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, pp.13-14 and 17.
[173] Persson, *Economic History of Europe*, p.37.
[174]Ibid., p.50.
[175] B.M.S Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk', *EcHR 2nd Series, vol.36,1* (1983), pp. 26-46.
[176] Hallam, *Agrarian History* Vol.1, pp.276-287.
[177] The replacement of oxen by horses had reached 30% in eastern counties by the end of the twelfth century: J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.79.

also be used to reach more markets, as a horse and cart could travel twice as far in a day as an ox and cart. This particularly benefitted the smallholder, increasing his capacity to participate in the market to obtain the best price for his crop.[178] Nevertheless, there is evidence that on many manors, capital investment in agricultural buildings and equipment remained at no more than 5%.[179] Some of the reasons for this were that the opportunities for improvements in productivity were largely revenue-based, such as increased use of labour, rather than changes requiring major capital investment.[180] In a 1967 article, Postan claimed that the main reason why investment was so small was that the bulk of the profits were squandered.[181] He went on to suggest that the expenses of fine buildings and support for extravagant lifestyles were the key reasons for this squandering. Research into the three groups estates looks for evidenceof this.
While different theories about the impact of population and resource use are not fully resolved, there is less controversy about the impact of town development

Town development

Though the absolute number of towns developed in the two centuries before 1300 varies according to definitions and timescale, there is agreement that there was significant growth which transformed the urban scene in Britain. The scale of the increase is indicated by two statistics: the number of towns increased from around 100 in 1066 to some 830 in 1300; and in England the proportion of those living in towns rose from nearly 10% to almost 20%.[182] The characteristics of urban development in the Middle Ages were essentially similar in large and small towns, whether owned by king, bishop or earl or independent: initially they all grew from a network of markets. Many markets existed before 1066, but for instance in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex between 1200 and 1300 the number of licensed markets trebled from 65 to 194.[183] Not all resulted in a new or growing town, but many did.
Towns were primarily trading and manufacturing centres, with even in small towns at least 30 largely non-agricultural occupations, compared to perhaps three or four which could be found near a large village market. Physical characteristics included a market-place, sometimes more than one, narrow building plots with houses and

[178] Ibid., pp.27-2. p.76 and pp.272-273.
[179] Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp.131-133.
[180] It was not until the late 18th century that mechanised farm machinery could be purchased to transform labour productivity.
[181] M. M. Postan, 'Investment in Medieval Agriculture', *Economic History Association* vol. 27, No.4 (1967) pp. 576-587 and 579-80.
[182] Dyer, *Making a Living, p.187;* Miller and Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348,* p.255; Bailey and Hatcher, *Modelling*, pp.138-139; Britnell, *Commercialisation*, p.104;Palliser, *Cambridge Urban History*, pp.84 and 103.
[183] Britnell,'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349', in Britnell R. *Markets, Trade and Economic Development in England and France, 1050-1550*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limted, 2009), p.210.

shops much more closely packed than for instance in a nucleated village, a continuous line of buildings facing the main street and, often, two-storey structures. Towns also displayed more intensive use of space, with sheds and workshops to the rear of the frontages and extensive use of vaults.[184] In short, to be considered a small town rather than a village there had to be a variety of non-agricultural occupations, an emphasis on trade and merchandising both inward and outward, and a greater density of population and building.

A key aspect of the development of towns in England in this period was their relatively small size. London, with an estimated population of 80,000 by c.1300, was the only English town that might be compared to larger medieval towns in Italy. As a comparison, the city of Sienna on the eve of the Black Death (1348/9) had a population of 100,000.[185] In neighbouring Florence, in 1300 the population was between 95,000 and 100,000.[186] It is estimated that at the same time in Northern Italy alone there were as many as 35 towns with populations over 15,000.[187] In England, possibly sixteen towns had estimated populations above 15,000 including Bristol, Norwich, Winchester and York.[188]

However, it was the small towns of medieval England — each with a population of less than 2000 and serving, generally, a number of surrounding villages — that played a key role in economic development. These small towns, possibly up to 800 of them, contained half of the total urban population.[189] Records of taxation from the period show that all small towns remained closely integrated with their rural hinterlands.[190] In a period of population growth, towns provided employment opportunities in areas where agricultural land was scarce and also generated a demand for agricultural products. At least 30-40% of the urban population did not have the land to grow much of their own food; for instance, the Domesday Book for Colchester lists some 120 individuals (42%) with houses but no land.[191] By providing a place for the sale of surplus produce, towns enabled rural tenants and smallholders to generate the cash they needed for rents and to purchase those essentials that could not be supplied from the smallholding. For the wealthy, they provided a place where luxury products would be made as well as imported; and for

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[184] C. Dyer, 'Small Places with Large Consequences: the Importance of Small Towns in England, 1000-1540', *Institute of Historical Research*, vol.25, no.187 (February 2002), p.9.

[185] W.M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine* 1287-1355 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p.7.

[186] R. A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1982), p.33.

[187] E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts*, p.274.

[188] Ibid., p.262; Britnell,'Commercialisation and Economic Development in England, 1000-1300', in *Markets, Trade and Economic Development*, 2009.

[189] J. Crick and E. van Houts, eds., *A Social History of England 900-1200 (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.201; Britnell, *Commercialisation*, p.115; Dyer, 'Small Places with Large Consequences', p.23.

[190] See Chapters Two and Four.

[191] *Domesday Book Essex*, A.Rumble,ed, (Chichester : Phillimore, 1986) p.90 B3.

the merchants they provided centres for collection of goods such as wool and wheat for bulk sales to major cities and Europe. Even so, most towns remained closely integrated with the communities they served, at least until the end of the fourteenth century. Specific examples emerge from the 1295 Rental list in Bury St. Edmunds, and the tax returns for the same year in Colchester.[192] Even in London in the thirteenth century there was farmland in Clerkenwell and Stepney, a vineyard was created in Smithfield and a century later beef cattle were still fattened at Edmonton.[193]

At the time of the Conquest, the king was the lord of most of the large towns in England. While generic growth and the need for a wider market were key reasons for towns developing from local markets, between 1086 and 1300 kings founded a further 70 towns, the church 95 and lay lords 170.[194] The reasons behind foundation were often complex, and are explored in the case studies.

Markets

The development of the extensive network of markets after 1200 was a prerequisite for the accompanying development of towns. The markets provided safe, reliable trading places which gave some protection for traders and allowed information about commercial opportunities to be widely circulated.[195] In particular, the smaller markets in the network allowed local peasants to buy the key commodities they needed, such as iron and salt, and trade their relatively small amounts of grain, vegetables and livestock.

The availability of markets enabled small producers as well as the great estates to market their crops. Though records are, generally, only available for the great estates, these produced 25% of the total grain output in the thirteenth century. The remaining 75% was produced by a multiplicity of freeholders, smallholders and peasants.[196]

Evidence of the accessibility of markets and the ways in which they were used is provided in the records of the Oxfordshire estate of Cuxham, which belonged to Merton College. The accounts show that the reeves went to markets at Ware, Henley, Thame, Wallingford, Oxford and Southampton, buying specific goods at each, such as Spanish wine in Southampton.[197] Markets were in many respects revolutionary, and were as characteristic a feature of the central Middle Ages as population growth and the expansion of land under cultivation.[198] Nevertheless,

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[192] See Chapters Two and Four.

[193] Miller and Hatcher, *Towns*, p.258.

[194] Dyer, *Making a living*, pp.145-146.

[195] Hatcher and Bailey, *Modelling*, pp.142-143.

[196] Persson, *Economic History*, p.83.

[197] P.D.A Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1260-1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp.102-103.

[198] Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England, Rural Society*, p.69.

markets, trade and towns could not have flourished without a significant increase in the use of money and the whole network was critical in providing both rich and poor with access to cash.

Commercialisation

Before the widespread introduction of money, barter was the key medium for trade. However, barter is dependent on a coincidence of wants: trader A has something that trader B wants, and trader B has something that traderA wants. Money solves the problem if trades are not mutually compatible.[199] Estimates have been made that money supply had grown from £25,000 in 1066 to nearer £900,000 by 1300.[200] By the mid-thirteenth century, the money supply in England had probably reached the critical point that allowed coins to be used as the normal medium of exchange. They could be used to buy or sell goods and to pay wages and tenant dues such as rents and taxes, they could be collected in lieu of labour services or knight services and the king could pay his armies in coin. Some degree of non-monetary payments continued to exist, as it does today, but even with this, money was used as a standard of value.[201]
The significance of a cash-based economy was that the top level of society could purchase its buildings, food and wine from a range of sources and was no longer reliant on food from estates or local building knowledge. There was a Europe-wide accepted currency, the silver penny. For the king, taxes could be gathered and income from land received in coin which had a standard value.For the villagers and peasants, small sales could be made in the local market and services sold to generate sufficient cash to pay rents and tithes and to purchase additional goods. However, there were difficulties with the use of money, partly because of the nature of the coinage itself at the time but also the occasional problem with obtaining silver for making further coinage. The silver penny, with a silver content of some 92%, was the single major coin, having been established during the Carolingian era together with the standard that there were 12 pence to a shilling and 240 pence to a pound. Two major problems with this were that until 1489 there were no shilling or pound coins — they remained a phantom level used in accounting only — and the silver penny was too valuable for many small-scale transactions. The result was that pennies were cut in half or into quarters, until the first minting of halfpennies and farthings in 1279.[202] The problem with the silver penny can be illustrated when looking at the income of a labourer, which in 1300 was likely to have been between £1.10s and £2 in a full year, or roughly ½ d a

[199] Persson, *Economic History*, p.130.
[200] Wood, *Medieval Money Matters*, p.79.
[201] Bolton, *Money in the Medieval Economy*, pp.25-28.
[202] Wood, *Medieval Money Matters*, pp.5-7.

week.[203] At the same time food cost a fraction of a penny, for instance eggs cost a farthing for 25. The problem for the labourer was to have coins small enough in value to buy eggs for his family.[204]
One of the main causes for the intermittent shortage of cash was the taxes levied by the Angevin kings. Richard I levied a war tax in 1188 which brought in £70,000 and John had accumulated some £60,000 in coin at the time of his death, but the wealth taxes levied from 1294-1306 generated an average of £22,743 each year. This siphoning off from the circulating coins affected the very wealthy less, since they received large sums each year, and the poor little, as they rarely paid taxes. It did affect many of the other levels, especially the barons and monasteries, the first evidence perhaps of a 'squeezed middle'.[205] The impact on many, such as Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, was to drive them into debt, and this is explored in Chapter Two. The more general use of credit and its impact is not analysed, as the sample of three estates is too small to contribute a statistically sound view. However, without the development of this cash economy buildings could not have been built, crops could not have been marketed, and economic development after 1066 would have foundered.

Sources of income

Between 1066 and the first plague in 1348/9, some 85% of income for the great secular and ecclesiastical landowners came from the land. For the king, income from the land was gradually replaced by taxes.[206] However, for peasants, except perhaps for the richest, the situation was very different. Though figures are scarce, there is evidence from the 1279 census that some 60% of peasants leased only seven acres of land or less and that up to 80% of those living in the rural eastern counties had five acres or less.[207] Such smallholders may have sub-let land in several manors to increase their total acreage to a size that could sustain a family and was better than subsistence level, but many needed to find other sources of income. In particular, they could act as hired labour to supplement workers on their lord's directly farmed land, they could grow cash crops such as flax, fruit and vegetables for a nearby town and they could produce food and brew ale for others. Localised employment opportunities included working as coopers, bow-makers and charcoal-burners near wooded areas, fishing near major rivers and the coast, and working in quarries or mines.[208] These smallholders had to be able to work to earn income from more wealthy villagers or in the town, both to buy food and necessities such

[203] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.29 and 226.
[204] Ibid., p.115.
[205] Britnell, *Commercialisation*, p.105.
[206] This is covered in Chapters Two, Three and Four.
[207] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.119.
[208] Ibid., p.132.

as cloth, and to be able to pay rent, tithes and fines to church and landlord. Tithes and rents could take as much as 34% of their cash income.[209] At this level, poor harvests led to starvation and to forced sale of the little land they had to richer villagers. In order to live, these marginal smallholders had to earn wages. However, to many of those living in the late eleventh century the concept of wages was inapplicable.[210]

Wages

Over the two hundred years of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, wages paid in cash became more common due to the movement of people from agricultural to urban living, the development of crafts such as weaving where barter was not really a possibility, and the growth in people needing to buy their foodstuffs. Even so, in the fourteenth century some wages were still paid partly in foodstuffs and meals.[211] Wage inflation is particularly difficult to estimate, but it has been calculated that wages generally did not rise before the middle of the fourteenth century.[212] For agricultural workers, where payments are sometimes listed in manorial accounts, it has been demonstrated that real wages dipped slightly from 1210, only recovering in the mid-fourteenth century.[213] I have adopted the assumption that at best wages rose very slowly and made little difference to the spending capacity of the majority of peasants.

Expenditure — Buildings

One of the largest expenditures, for kings, earls, the church and peasants alike, was the cost of buildings. Costs of the Abbey, the castles of the earls and the royal castles are covered in Chapters Two, Three and Four respectively. Below the costs of building such major structures, Christopher Dyer and others have suggested that there were probably three levels of building and associated costs in the countryside.[214] Using evidence from standing buildings (though these date largely from the mid-fourteenth century), and from documentary and archaeological research, it is postulated that at the top level were complexes built by relatively prosperous peasants, farming a minimum of 30 acres. Such complexes appear to

[209] Bolton, *Money in the Medieval Economy*, p.189.

[210] Wood, *Medieval Money Matters*, p.74.

[211] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Economy*, pp.49-35; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.211-212.

[212] J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society 1200-1350* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969), p.46; Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England – Rural Society*, pp.49-50.

[213] M. Gardiner, 'An Archaeological Approach to the Development of the Late Medieval Peasant House', *Vernacular Architecture* vol. 45 (2014), 16-28.

[214] C. Platt, 'The archaeology of the peasant land market in pre-plague England c. AD.1290-1300', *Medieval Archaeology* 60/2 (2016), p.303; Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, pp.230-232; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.166-7.

have consisted of a central building for living, chamber and services. Outbuildings included a byre for animals, a barn, kitchen and other service buildings such as brew- and bake-houses, all set round a courtyard and enclosed by a palisade and ditch.[215]

At the next level were those who perhaps farmed ten to fifteen acres, or were craftsmen or skilled reapers able to feed their families and have a small surplus except in years of poor harvests. The majority of these families lived in two- or three-bay houses, each bay commonly measuring 4.6m x 4.6m (15ft x15ft). This has been confirmed by research into 75 manors in the Midlands, where from the excavated remains of 82 houses it was found that the majority (66) had two or three bays.[216] Though space was more restricted than in larger complexes, the archaeological evidence seems to show that the space was used in the same way, as a living and service area. The cost would have varied with the quality of materials, but is likely to have been between £2 to £4.

Below these groups the peasant would rarely earn enough to have spare income to build a house. They would rent a cottage on the estate but there is little physical evidence of such buildings.

Other expenditure — peasant costs

Agricultural workers would pay rent and tithes in a mix of cash, service and produce, just as their wages would be paid in part in an annual allowance of corn.[217] The typical waged income (excluding income from sales of produce or livestock) was between £2 and £5 a year, depending on the amount of wages paid in corn and other foodstuffs.[218] Such a small cash income was mostly absorbed by payment of fines and purchasing the few items, such as cloth or salt, that could not be produced by the family. Purchases, in a good year, could also include a chest for storage costing perhaps 2-3 shillings, pots for cooking and utensils for eating perhaps worth 10 shillings in all.[219] There would be little spare income for investing in a bespoke farm building.

[215] M. Gardiner,'Vernacular buildings and the growth of the later medieval domestic plan in England', *Medieval Archaeology* Vol.44 (2000) 159-179 (pp.170-173).

[216] Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London:Hambledon Press, 1994), pp.139 and 142-3, 145.

[217] Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village*, pp.75-96.

[218] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.131-133.

[219] C.Dyer, 'Living in Peasant Houses in Late Medieval England', V*ernacularArchitecture* ol 44 (2013) pp.19-27.

Expenditure on buildings in the towns

Urban housing was, generally, more expensive than that available in the countryside. While the same courtyard design with hall and chamber has been found, a merchant's house with hall, shop, and courtyard could cost from £33 to over £90 depending on the size and finish.[220] Even at £33 such houses still cost nearly three times as much as a middle-level rural house (£10-15) and were generally significantly smaller. In the towns explored in this thesis (Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester), the remains of some merchants' houses are still standing, there is documentary evidence of what was built and there have been archaeological excavations.
There were, however, other types of housing in towns, and a far higher proportion of housing was rented. Studies in London, York, Winchester and Norwich have all shown that the majority of urban housing was built for rent. Building costs could be as low as £2 for a one-bay two-storey dwelling, but the row houses of York, for instance, cost nearer £5 each. In a study of nine cities, the dimensions of row houses have been estimated and in all but two of the nine cities the area is less than 30 sq. m. compared to 42-63 sq. m. in rural housing.[221] Research into the towns on the selected estates looks at the documentary and other evidence for living space.

Land value and measurement

Having enough land to farm remained essential for lords and the church to flourish and for the majority of the population to survive in the years from 1066 to the early fourteenth century. The measurement of land was therefore important. The starting point for an assessment of land measurement in Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk is the *Little Domesday Book* (LDB). Over the last 100 years there have been arguments over what the entries in the book mean and the use that can be made of the information they contain. A typical entry in the LDB is:

> St. Edmund's held Cockfield […]4 ½ carucates of land[…] then 16 smallholders, now 22. Then 2 ploughs in lordship, now 3: then 12 men's ploughs, now 6[….] Always 4 slaves. Meadow, 8 acres; a winter mill. Now 3 cobs, 12 cattle, 37 pigs, 80 and 18 sheep; now 12 beehives[…] value of this manor then £6; now [£] 8.[222]

Most entries are similarly abbreviated; and while their meaning would have been clear to the compilers, the assumptions behind them which made the figures and

[220] Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, 2nd ed.(Oxford: Oxford: University Press, 1967), pp. 517-519.
[221] Ibid., p.205.
[222] *Domesday Book*, *Suffolk* 14.24.

words meaningful are no longer available. The most general interpretation is that set out in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* '[the king] had it recorded […] how much each man had who was occupying land[….] in land, or in livestock , and how much it was worth'.[223]
There is general agreement that the land values as set out formed the basis for a geld, or general tax, levied by the Norman kings in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[224] However, major debate has developed about whether the measures of land are real or fiscal and the meaning and relevance of the numbers of ploughs. [225] The debate on land values was initiated by Round in 1895. He suggested that the area measurements in the DB were in fact measures for the purposes of calculating tax rather than estimating actual areas of land. Later, F.W. Maitland also concluded that there was no systematic relationship between resources (land, animals etc.) and values.[226] In 1986 J. McDonald and G.D. Snooks applied contemporary statistical methods to the data and analysed the correlation between randomly selected data for Wiltshire and Essex manors. The results showed a positive relationship between the values (or income) and acreage of land recorded. This result was supported in the same year (1986) by A. R. Bridbury's book on *The English Economy* and in 2000 by David Roffe in a major reassessment of the Inquests and the *Domesday Book*.[227] By the time J.L. Bolton's book *Money* was published in 2012, the reality of connection between value and resource was broadly accepted.[228] A key assumption in my research is that *LDB* values and resources quoted for 1066 and 1086 were based on real measures of land and that the data is a sound basis for assessing manorial incomes and resources.

Land values and ploughs

The issue of ploughs is relevant, because the numbers in the *LDB* indicate levels of resources and changes to the use of land and therefore the land's intrinsic value. In the extract quoted from the LDB above, between the time of King Edward (TRE) or before 1066, and King William (TRW) or after 1066, the number of ploughs in lordship appears to have increased, but the number of other ploughs decreased from 12 to 6. A plausible explanation is given by Roffe, namely that the number of

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[223] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Swanton, trans. and ed., p. 216.
[224] J. McDonald and G.D. Snooks, *Domesday Economy: A New Approach to Anglo-Norman History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
[225] R.L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912), p.137.
[226] J.H. Round, *Feudal England: Historical Studies of the Elenth and Twelfth Centuries* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1895, reprinted 1964), pp.17-26; F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (New York: Norton, 1897, reprinted 1966), pp.17-28.
[227] A.R. Bridbury, *The English Economy from Bede to the Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), pp.91-92; D. Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.143.
[228] Bolton, *Money in the Medieval Economy*, p. 120.

ploughs in 1086 was an assessment of the likely ability to pay tax rather than a measure of the arable potential of the area under question.
The architectural context, economic developments and assumptions and data explored in this chapter form the framework for the three case studies set out in Chapters, Two, Three and Four.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ECONOMY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE ABBEY AND TOWN OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS AND THE ABBEY LANDS

From the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, Bury St. Edmunds was one of the six richest Benedictine monasteries in England, occupying a site which had been in religious use from the early seventh century.[229] Its initial wealth derived from a grant of eight and a half hundreds in West Suffolk — the Liberty — which also conferred exemption from episcopal control. This grant of lands and powers was confirmed to Abbot Baldwin by a writ of Edward the Confessor in 1065[230] and was renewed unchanged by writs from successive monarchs from William I to Henry II.[231] The Abbey's land holdings were increased by grants and donations, and by 1086 included manors in Norfolk, Essex, east Suffolk, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, though most were in west Suffolk near the Abbey. The lands, and the Abbey's power, were largely unchanged by the Conquest, perhaps because, although he was appointed by Edward the Confessor, the medical skills of Abbot Baldwin were recognised. He served as physician to Edward and then to William the Conqueror and his son William Rufus.[232] Baldwin was a monk from the great Ile-de-France Abbey of St. Denis and was the only non-Englishman to be an abbot in England in 1066.[233] He remained Abbot of Bury from 1065 until his death in 1097, and laid the foundations for the new Abbey church as well as developing the town. The supportive treatment given to St. Edmunds contrasted with the encroachment and confiscation suffered by Ely, the other great abbey in eastern England. Ely was implicated in Hereward's resistance against William the Conqueror.[234] At Ely Abbey, vessels of gold and silver were broken up and dispersed in the surrender to King

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[229] A.B. Whittingham, *Bury St. Edmunds Abbey* (London: English Heritage, 1971), p.3.

[230] T. Licence, *Bury St. Edmunds and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p.35.

[231] *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds inc. Register Nigrum*, D.C. Douglas, ed.(Oxford:Oxford University Press,, 1932), p.67: Writ of Henry I In favour of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds '…concerning the abbots jurisdiction within his eight and a half hundreds', Writ of Henry II in favour of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds and Abbot Samson concerning the jurisdictional privileges of the Abbey.

[232] Licence, *Bury St. Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, p.226.

[233] Ibid., p.5.

[234] *Liber Eliensis*, J. Fairweather, translator, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p.xvi.

William.[235] A fine of 700 silver marks was levied on the Abbey after the defeat of Hereward.[236]

The great Norman Abbey in the centre of the town of Bury St. Edmunds is its most significant building. This chapter looks at the key functions of the building, which was begun by Abbot Baldwin in the 1080s to replace an earlier church housing St. Edmund's shrine. The east end was largely completed by 1095, in time for the translation of St. Edmund's relics into the new building in that year.[237] The nave and western entrance were completed by Abbot Anselm and the Abbey's sacrists during the twelfth century, and its west front finished by Abbot Samson at the end of that century. The huge scale of the church, the east end and shrine and the unique west façade are examined here, looking especially at the reasons for their construction. The Abbey and other buildings in the main precinct were financed from a combination of income from the Abbey's estates including the town of Bury, indulgences, specific taxes, and donations by abbots and other monastic officers as well as pilgrims. The Abbey's management of funds and how it met requirements for cash to complete the building will form an important part of the discussion

The Abbey

The above-ground remains of the great Abbey are limited, though there are enough to give some important information about layout and elevation, such as the width of the transepts and western façade, the length of the nave and, from the nave piers still standing, indications that the nave had an arcade, triforium and clerestory.[238] The only relatively complete twelfth-century structure remaining in the Bury precinct is the St. James (Norman) Tower (Figure 2.1), which led to the great west front of the Abbey church. The other gatehouse, the Church Gate, which led into the great courtyard, was destroyed in the riots of 1327 and rebuilt in the fourteenth century.[239] However, there are documentary sources that provide a substantially complete, if somewhat speculative, picture of the buildings. These documents include the contemporary *Chronicle of Jocelyn*, the extensive feudal documents held by Cambridge University including the *Registrum Nigrum* or 'black book' and the *Kalendar* of Abbot Samson, the *Gesta Sacristarum*, and the *Bury Customary.*[240] Between them these set out a wealth of detail about the rituals in the

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[235] *Liber Eliensis*, Book II, p.200.

[236] *Ibid*, p.230.

[237] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p.128.

[238] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England= Suffolk: West*,revised bu J. Bettley (New haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015) p.130; Whittingham, *Bury St. Edmunds Abbey*, p.16.

[239] Gem and Keen, 'Bury St. Edmunds Abbey' pp.1-31 (p.1).

[240] *Registrum Nigrum*, in *Feudal Documents* ed.Douglas; *Kalendar of Abbot Samson*, R.H.C. Davies, ed. (London: Butler and Tanner Ltd., 1954.,); *Gesta Sacristorum* in ed. Thomas Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey; The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of*

Abbey and how the space was used, the building of the various sections of the church and the monastic structures, and the work and management of the monastery.
This early documentation is complemented by sketches and detailed observations from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when more of the structure was standing than today. In particular, in the nineteenth century Edward Gillingwater and the Rev. Richard Yates published detailed descriptions of the ruins and the changes and restorations that had taken place. In the last century, English Heritage and the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology sponsored excavations and research, and the scholarly writings produced by many of those who led these excavations, including Stephen Tymms, A.B. Whittingham, Gilyard Beer and Richard Gem have added considerably to understanding of the site.[241] As a result, a body of knowledge has been built up that allows a plausible picture of the Abbey and its precincts to be drawn, despite the relatively few stones still standing. Figure 2.2 shows a schematic reconstruction of the Abbey church, Figure 2.3 a conjectural drawing of the Abbey before the Reformation and Figure 2.4 a reconstructed map of the Abbey and precinct. From these, despite possible inaccuracies, it can be seen that the overwhelming characteristic of the Abbey church was its scale.

The scale of the Abbey church

The design of the Abbey accommodated the shrine of St. Edmunds. Space to accommodate pilgrims, an area where the monks could perform the daily offices and somewhere for those attending mass to hear the service and preaching were all required.[242] The daily offices were the primary reason for the Abbey's existence: prayers being offered for the king, the country and the people. The monks represented one of the three orders of society, the *oratores*, who 'intercede for us to God and promote Christianity…..as spiritual toil….for the benefit of us all'.[243] It is, however, unlikely that the need for such space was the primary reason for the huge scale of the Abbey. In the second half of the eleventh century, in England, the Holy Roman Empire, France and Rome, only Canterbury, Winchester (157m) and Cluny

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Bury St. Edmunds, A.Gransden, ed., (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010, first printed for Henry Bradshaw Society, 1966).

[241] S. Tymms, *Handbook of Bury St. Edmunds*, (London: Groom & Sons, 8th edition 1905), pp.17-18; A.B. Whittingham, 'Bury St. Edmunds Abbey: the Plan, Design and Development of the Church and Monastic Buildings', *Archaeological Journal* CVIII (1951) pp.169-187; Gillyard-Beer 'The Eastern Arm of the Abbey Church of Bury St. Edmunds' *PSIAH* 30 (1969) pp. 256-262; Gem and Keen, 'Bury St. Edmunds Abbey' pp.1-31.

[242] Jocelyn refers to Abbot Samson preaching to the people in English, but in the Norfolk dialect. Jocelyn of Brakelond, *Chronicle of the Abbey of St Edmunds*,trans. D. Greenway and J.Sayers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) , p.37.

[243] D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents* vol.1 c. 500-1042 (London: Eyre & Spottiswooode,1995), pp.853-4; the other orders being those who work to provide us with sustenance, the *laboratores*, and those who guard, the *bellatores*.

(172.27m) were larger.[244] Eric Fernie illustrated the Abbey's size by suggesting that the transept (over 65m long) could accommodate an entire church the size of that at Castle Acre priory.[245] The total internal length of the church from apse to western transept was 148.57 metres. This length compares to the 132.77 metres of St. Peter's, Rome, and 133 metres of Canterbury Cathedral in 1096. While there needed to be enough space to accommodate crowds at the festivals or on saints' days, the exceptional size was unlikely to have been purely to meet any liturgical demand. Instead it reflected the wealth and status of the Abbey as well as the importance of the Christian religion. It was an example of the trend towards ostentation which characterised the new Norman churches.

It also reflected the status and influence of the Bury abbots. They not only acted as the representative of the king within the Abbey's Liberty, but had frequent contact with the royal court, entertained kings and travelled on their behalf, for example when Abbot Samson went to Germany in 1193 to seek Richard I.[246] The length is also thought to result from a change of plan under Abbot Anselm when the presbytery was extended and an aisle added to the east wall of the transept.[247] It has been argued that this increase arose from a desire to make the Abbey larger than the new cathedral being constructed at Norwich, emphasising the pre-eminence of Bury.[248]

However, the Abbey church at Bury also needs to be seen in the context of Norman church building in England. There is a line of great cathedrals through the eastern counties, from St. Albans to Bury, Norwich, Ely and on to Lincoln. The building of all five began at the end of the eleventh century and, except for Bury, they were substantially complete well before the end of the twelfth.[249] They can perhaps be compared to the line of castles along the Welsh coast established by Edward I to mark his conquests.[250] Although these castles had a primary defensive function they were also a statement of power and permanence. These eastern cathedrals showed that the land was conquered and both wealth and power were permanently in Norman hands.[251]

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[244] Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church', p.5.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, pp.ix-x.

[247] The change resulted in a nave and aisles of 25.9m compared to Norwich's 22m and an aisled rather than aisle-less transept. Fernie, '*The Romanesque Church of Bury*' pp. 10-11; S. Heywood, 'Aspects of Bury St. Edmunds Church', p.78.

[248] Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Bury', p.1.

[249] St. Albans, length 140m, begun 1077; Bury, length 170m, begun 1081; Norwich, length 155m, begun 1096; Ely, length 145m, begun 1082; Lincoln, length 110, begun 1072: Fernie *Architecture of Norman England,* pp.111-115, 128-130, 144-8, 124-8,108-111.

[250] Aberystwyth, Harlech, Caernavon, Conway, Rhuddlan, Flint: Goodall, *English Castles*, pp.214-222.

[251] Goodall, *English Castles*, p.225.

The Abbey's architecture

In 1895, M.R. James wrote extensively on the Abbey and included a projected comprehensive plan of the completed building as it could have been at the end of the thirteenth century (Figure 2.6). He used details from the *Gesta Sacristarum* and many other sources, including the ruins themselves.[252] The following paragraphs focus on the nature of, and reasons for, aspects of the building that differed from earlier churches on the site. There is little documentation about the first church at Bury, only a reference from Abbot of Fleury, writing in the late tenth century. He described it as 'a very large church of wonderful wooden plank work' in which the relics were enshrined. This church was replaced by a round stone building dedicated in 1032, which stood to the east of the north transept of Baldwin's new church.[253] Apart from the size of the Abbey, the other Norman building elements that were different from what we know of Anglo-Saxon churches and the earlier churches on the site were the east end, the nave, the western façade and the Norman gatehouse. These and their functions are explored below.

The east end

Structural remains on the ground and excavations have established that the new east arm had five bays, an ambulatory and three radiating chapels, all (except for the western bay of the presbytery) above a crypt. The layout was probably influenced by the tradition of great pilgrimage churches and had close links with Lanfranc's cathedral at Canterbury, built in the early 1070s.[254] The builder, Abbot Baldwin, would also have been aware of the ambulatory with radiating chapels at Rouen Cathedral, begun in 1030, and the same design at Jumièges, begun in 1037.[255] While evidence is sparse for east ends of pre-1066 church buildings in England, since so many were destroyed, those that do remain, such as Brixworth in Northamptonshire, had an east end that was semi-circular or polygonal with no radiating chapels and no ambulatory (Figure 2.7).[256] (Those churches that remain were, however, parish churches rather than abbeys and would not have required a complex east end).The apse chapels at Bury Abbey's east end are a new element, and the ambulatory that provided a circulation route round the main eastern apse and gave access to these chapels was, like that at Canterbury, an innovation in Anglo-Norman England.

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[252] M.R. James, *On the Abbey of St Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1895) Octavo series xxv iii, opposite p. 212; see also Figure 2.4.
[253] Gem and Keen, 'Bury St. Edmunds, late Anglo-Saxon finds'
[254] Fernie, 'St. Edmund's Abbey', *JBAA Conference* 20, pp.1 and 4.
[255] Ibid., p.4.
[256] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p.248.

The most important practical reason for the ambulatory was that across Europe at this time pilgrimage was a steadily growing industry, encouraged by generous indulgences.[257] Throughout the Middle Ages relics, pilgrimage, miracles and construction were closely intertwined with donations of land and money. The creation of chapels to commemorate the dead and indulgences to reward pilgrims for their donations were all encouraged. The design of the new apse of Bury church reflected the increase in the numbers of individual pilgrims coming to worship at the shrine of St. Edmund but also to pray at the additional chapels in the apse and elsewhere in the Abbey.[258] The need to cater for pilgrims had been graphically illustrated by Abbot Suger at Saint Denis, when he reported that the crush of pilgrims on a feast day was so great that no one among the tightly packed masses could move so much as a foot.[259] The Abbot may have been exaggerating a little, since pilgrims' donations were an important source of income. However, to accommodate the numbers likely to visit St. Edmunds' shrine and the apse chapels commemorating three local saints, there needed to be a clear and spacious route to prevent such congestion. The ambulatory met this requirement, but also allowed for processions past the shrine on the great feast days. It gave access for pilgrims without disrupting the regular daily worship of the monks.
Stephen Heywood has suggested that an additional external innovation at Bury Abbey's east end was the rounded pilasters in the re-entrant angles that gave a very particular massing of towers (Figure 2.8).[260] This use of towers to dominate the church outline is likely to have been another way of marking the importance of the church, as well as increasing its visibility to the surrounding areas. It also potentially recalled the use of towers on Anglo-Saxon churches to distinguish a church from other buildings.

The shrine

While the ambulatory had an important function, the most important part of the east end was the shrine. The *Gesta Sacristarum* refers to the shrine of the blessed martyr as *laminis argenteis* or covered with silver.[261] Abbot Samson gave a golden crest for the front of the shrine and there was a painted canopy that fitted over the feretory.[262] The shrine was well-lit by four large candles in holders attached to the

[257] The practice of granting relief from time in Purgatory as a reward for pilgrimage and/or a gift made to the church.
[258] Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p.147.
[259] *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures*, E. Panovsky, ed. and trans. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp.87-88.
[260] S. Heywood, 'Towers and radiating chapels' in J.A, Franklin, T. Heslop and C. Stevenson, eds. *Architecture and Interpretation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), p.103.
[261] *Gesta Sacristarum*, p.289.
[262] Gransden, *History* vol. 1, p.94.

front, which were kept burning day and night, paid for by a specific grant of land in Aylesham from King Richard to the sacrist in 1189.[263] More details of the rich covering of the shrine emerge from Jocelyn's story of a fire at the shrine in 1198. He speaks of how precious stones fell from the canopy when water was thrown on the fire, but how the 'golden majesty on the front of the shrine with some of the stones, remained stable and intact' because it was made of solid gold. He records that the greater part of the shrine had lost its plating and that Abbot Samson donated his entire gold treasure of fifteen rings, worth sixty marks, to restore it.[264] From these somewhat disjointed reports, the shrine must have gleamed with silver and had a canopy painted with religious scenes above it. The light from the candles would have made it shine brightly at all times. From Jocelyn's account we also learn that Samson was having marble supports built to raise the shrine higher above the high altar. These supports would allow pilgrims to crawl beneath the reliquary in order to benefit from the holy power radiating from the saint's body.[265]
Above all, the shrine would have been adorned to honour the patron saint and martyr king. It would also serve to attract pilgrims and, by emphasising the importance of the saint, encourage them to donate generously to the Abbey. In the Bury Chronicle, details are given for the donations received at various shrines in 1292 amounting to some £109 or nearly 5% of the total income of the Abbey.[266] Other churches also encouraged such donations, and the sermon *Veneranda Dies* associated with Santiago explicitly states that pilgrims with money in their pockets will suffer the torments of hell.[267] The need for splendid adornments is illustrated in a different way by the tale that in the ninth century a woman went to the monastery of Prüm to offer goods at the shrine of newly acquired relics, but as the tomb did not shine with gold and silver she claimed that 'nothing holy was contained there'.[268]

The nave

The nave provided two liturgical functions in a monastic church: an area where the monastic choir could perform the daily offices of the Opus Dei, and an area where, on feast days especially, mass could be celebrated for the general public. As suggested earlier, the form of the nave is likely to have been similar to that of Norwich Cathedral (Figure 2.13) with aisles, a triforium and a clerestory. Pevsner

[263] *Bury Chronicle*, p.109: worth £26 19s 41/2d in 1292.
[264] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, pp.99-100.
[265] J. Crook, ' Architectural Setting', p.40.
[266] *Bury Chronicle*, p.105. As theChronicle was recording tax returns, donations may well have been well in excess of this figure.
[267] Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p.165.
[268] Cited by C. Rudolph, *'The Things of Greater Importance': Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the medieval attitude towards art* (London, 1990), p.78: Note to p.162 in Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*.

and Whittingham, using the evidence of one of the still largely intact nave piers, both refer to an arcade eight metres high, a triforium six metres high and a clerestory.[269] Since homes were single-storey and even manor houses and all but the greatest royal castles were two storeys at most, the scale of the nave would have been awesome to visitors.

Equally impressive would have been the painted surfaces, the decoration of walls and pillars and use of polychromy that was almost universal.[270] Though little remains of church decoration from the twelfth century, the majority of twelfth-century ecclesiastical buildings seem to have been painted; examples include the cathedrals of St. Albans, Canterbury and Durham.[271] Archaeology has also revealed that complex figural and geometric designs were commonplace on high-status sites including St. Augustine's, Canterbury and Lichfield Cathedral.[272] Specific evidence of this kind of brilliant appearance has been found at Bury. In excavations from 1957-64, the northern entrance to the crypt was found to have wall plaster decorated with a diaper of diamonds, outlined in double black lines on a yellow ground, each diaper containing a pointed quatrefoil in red and white. In the crypt were traces of white wall plaster decorated with false masonry in red and black lines.[273]

All of this would have contributed to the perception of the church as an extraordinary and sacred environment, a place of awe and reverence and a traditional place of worship. The shrine, visible above the high altar at the east end, would have been even more spectacular, gleaming with precious metals and jewels. The nave would have been entered through the western porch at the centre of the façade.

The western façade

The western façade of the Abbey church has perhaps generated more architectural comment and conjecture than any other feature. Though little remains intact, its scale, measured as the length between the octagonal towers, can still be traced from the remains at each end. At 75 metres this is unmatched by any other English church.[274] The conjectural drawing in Figure 2.3 shows the possible scale and layout. The layout is known to have consisted of a central tower above three great archways forming the main western entrance to the church, two-storey chapels flanking this central tower to the north and south and beyond these, two octagonal towers. However, the height of the two towers is not known and J.P. McAleer has

[269] Whittingham, *Abbey*, p.14; Pevsner, *Suffolk West*, p.130.
[270] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp.275-280.
[271] Clapham, *Romanesque Architecture*, pp.145-8.
[272] Rodwell, 'Appearances can be deceptive', p.49.
[273] Gillyard-Beer, *East End*, p.258.
[274] Ely c. 49m; Lincoln c. 53 m, detailed in Pevsner, *Suffolk West*, pp.129-130.

suggested that such evidence as remains does not support the height of the central tower and chapel blocks as they are shown in this conjectural drawing.[275]
It is unlikely that the west façade was part of Abbot Baldwin's programme for the Abbey church. When the rebuilding of the Abbey began, he built a church for the use of the parish, dedicated to St. Denis, and this had to be demolished to make way for part of the western façade completed by Abbot Samson at the end of the twelfth century. The demolition resulted in one of the four chapels in the two-storeyed chapel blocks in the new façade being dedicated to St. Denis and a new parish church being built further west.[276] Despite archaeological work and other investigations, the functions of the façade's various structures are still a matter of conjecture. Apart from scale, questions centre on the purpose of the two-storey chapels that flank the tower and the functions of the octagonal towers built on either side of the chapels.
From documentary evidence and some architectural remains, the large chapel blocks appear to have each consisted of an eastern apse and nave space and were almost independent chapels in their own right.[277] The upper chapels were reached by a stair in the thickness of the walls, part of which remains, rather than from the nave, and were dedicated to St. Faith on the south side and St. Katherine on the north. The lower chapels were dedicated to St. Denis and St. John the Baptist.[278] There appear to be few English contemporary parallels for this arrangement, though there were western façade chapels elsewhere, for instance at St. Denis, where the western narthex was designed to support upper chapels and towers.[279] It is possible that the chapels were built to allow more spaces for worship, especially by pilgrims, and the nave-like spaces at Bury may have served as access points for the octagonal towers. With so little information on why the chapels were constructed as they were, this must remain conjecture.[280]
The octagonal towers that stood at either end of the western façade were unique in post-Conquest great churches. Though octagonal towers were known, for instance at Jumièges (Figure 2.12), they were more often, as there, employed to flank a central entrance porch as part of a western façade with antecedents in the Carolingian tradition.[281] Though the base of the southern octagon survives, later additions of a wall and windows have prevented investigation of the medieval articulation and interior space.[282] It is possible that they were constructed to ease access at the west end, but again, with so little remaining of the octagonal towers

[275] McAleer 'The West Façade 127-150.
[276] J. McAleer, 'The West Front of the Abbey Church' *JBAA Transactions 20*, (1997), p.43.
[277] Ibid., p.129.
[278] Ibid., pp.24 and 26; Gransden, *History* V*ol. 1*, p.86.
[279] L. Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy 1120-1270 (*London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.14.
[280] McAleer, 'The West Facade', p.129.
[281] Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p. 52.
[282] McAleer, 'The West Façade', pp.143-4.

and how they were connected to the main body of the church or the chapels, suggestions regarding their use for circulation must remain speculative.
What is clear is that the whole façade was intended to give an impression of majestic grandeur. The central arch of this western entrance, through which the great ceremonial processions approached the Abbey, was directly in line with St. Edmund's shrine. In turn this was directly in line with the entrance arch of the Norman Gate Tower.

The Norman Gate Tower

Constructed under Abbot Anselm, the Gate Tower secured access to the walled area in front of the great west entrance to the Abbey church (Figures 2.1 and 2.3). Gate towers had appeared in England in castle contexts, but before Bury there appears to be no evidence of their use as part of a church entrance in England. The Tower had two functions, one liturgical as it was the main entrance to the Abbey church from the town, the other, through its detailing, emphasising the monastery's place in the historical past as well as its position in the present.[283]
As it was the main ceremonial entrance to the Abbey site, from the Gate Tower pilgrims and visitors would proceed to the archway which spanned the western entrance and enter the enormous and impressive space of the nave. Looking straight ahead, they would see the high altar in the presbytery and above and behind it, lifted on a framework, the gilded shrine, sparkling in the candlelight.[284] This may well have been why the Norman Gateway was not destroyed in the riots of 1327, when buildings perhaps thought to be more secular, such as the Abbey Gate leading into the Great Court, were demolished.
The architectural detailing of the Tower includes pylons surmounted by pyramidal roofs which rest on corbelled heads. These are reminiscent of Roman burial monuments and underline the Gate Tower's role as a ceremonial entry to the burial site of King Edmund and to the Abbey cemetery.[285] English references include the Anglo-Saxon beak-head clasps and there are extensive Norman decorative motifs.[286] All aspects of the new Abbey, whether towers and gateways, nave or shrine, Saxon or Norman required significant expenditure. The next section analyses the costs of the Abbey and how the income was generated to meet them.

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[283] P. Fergusson, 'Three Romanesque Patrons',in J.McNeill and R.Plant, eds. *Romanesque and The Past* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013) p.198.
[284] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.94. Though the height of the shrine's platform is not recorded, records show that there were two candles on a wooden platform between the shrine and the altar.
[285] Ibid., p.195.
[286] These include the four arch roll mouldings with early chevrons and fish scale decoration, tall superimposed arches framing smaller arches in the middle stage and roundels in the top stage.

Finance

Income

Both contemporary chronicles and historians in later centuries refer to Bury as a very wealthy abbey, though precise figures are few. The first evidence of the Abbey's income emerges from the *Little Domesday Book* (LDB), published in 1086. W.J.Corbett calculated from this that the estates of Bury Abbey were worth £655.[287] He cites for comparison Canterbury, the wealthiest abbey with estates valued at £1750, and Winchester, with estates valued at £1000.
The next relatively complete assessment of income appears in the *Bury Chronicle* in 1292.[288] This sets out the income from church donations [£115], the income from courts [£640] and the income from estates held by the Abbey [£1098]. Gransden suggests that the Abbot's estate income was £762, giving a total income of £2615.[289] However, the listing in *the Chronicle* was for tax purposes and was more than likely to be understated. One approach to establishing a more realistic level of income would be to adjust the 1086 total for increases in estate and then apply inflation to the increased figure.[290] The Abbey's estates had grown in extent since 1086. For instance, Jocelyn cites the purchase of Mildenhall in 1190, valued between £70 and £100.[291] It seems likely that the estate had increased by at least 20%, giving a revised baseline of £786. From the figures in Appendix 1, inflation of 224% needs to be applied, giving a revised value of £2232. This is some 20% higher than the total in the *Chronicle*. When added to the other incomes listed for tax purposes, the total income becomes £2927, close to the estimate of 'over £3000' described by Bailey as the Abbey's income at the end of the thirteenth century.[292] The annual income figures used when reviewing expenditure are therefore £655 in 1086 and £2927 in 1292.

Expenditure

In the late 1190s, a total of £1407 11s 2d was calculated as required to feed the Abbey's 80 monks, 111 household servants, 11 chaplains, the nuns at Thetford and

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[287] W.J. Corbett 'England from 1068-1154' in J.L.Turner, C.W. Previté-Orton and Z.N.Brooke, eds., *The Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), Volume V pp.509-510.
[288] Gransden, ed., *Bury Chronicle*, pp.104-113.
[289] Gransden, *History of Bury Volume 2*, p.156.
[290] Levels of inflation for 1080 to 1379 have been calculated and are set out in Appendix 1 using figures of commodity and animal prices set out by Dyer, *Making a Living* and Hallam, *Agrarian History*, vol. 1.
[291] Joceylyn, *Chronicle*, pp.42-43.
[292] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.16

Abbey guests for a year.[293] In today's money, based on the comparative average wage for a builder in 1250 and 2017, this expenditure on food would cost some £527,000 or nearly half of the Abbey's total annual income at that date of £1.12m.[294] The remaining £593.000 would be needed to cover the large taxes and grants demanded by Henry III and Edward I, as well as many other operational expenses such as candles, clothes, wages, paper and ink and alms. It should have been sufficient to leave a reasonable margin for repair to existing structures and any extensions and modest new building.

However, a consistent feature of the history of the Abbey was the extent and frequency of its debts, which resulted in periods of economic stringency, followed by lax control, followed by more stringency — the medieval equivalent of 'boom and bust'. With the possible exception of the very large burden of royal taxes in the later thirteenth century, many of the problems seem to have been due to the complex management structure of monastic finances, which allowed greed, indulgence and incompetence to flourish. The Abbey's financial management and mismanagement may well have been the chief cause of the long delay in completing the Abbey itself. Two comparisons highlight the delay at Bury. At Canterbury, the first rebuilding of the cathedral was completed between 1067 and 1077 (further rebuilding during 1096–1145), and at Winchester the new Norman cathedral was constructed between 1079 and 1093.[295]

The Abbey's other building activities, in the town and on their manors, seem to have been better managed. For instance, although an allowance of £12 a year (£45,000 in today's terms) for building maintenance in the mid-thirteenth century seems a small part of overall expenditure, it was not exceeded, and even allowed the sacrist, Richard of Colchester, to build a new hall (Bradfield) in the precinct as a place for the monks to relax from the rigid discipline of monastic life.[296] The need for income did, however, have an impact on their approach to the town and many of their manors.[297]

Organisation and money management

Monastic management was complex, involving assignment of income to the Abbot and convent and, within this, specific allocation of different types of income to various officials. A lengthy document, agreed and ratified by the King Henry II in 1183, encapsulates the split of manors and income at Bury St. Edmunds between

[293] W. Dugdale, ed., *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London: Longman 1817), vol.3, pp.161-2.
[294] 2d a day in 1250 equates to £75.50 in 2017, giving a multiple of 3775. www.payscale.com.research?UKjob=builder_hourly rate in June 2017.
[295] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp.104 and 117-121.
[296] *Gesta Sacristarum*, p.295.
[297] Details are in the sections on Bury Manors and the town.

the Abbot and the various officers of the Abbey (the obedientaries).[298] The key officers at Bury were the cellarer and sacrist, particularly because at Bury St. Edmunds, unlike some other convents such as Winchester, there was no centralised finance function, although treasurers were introduced in the mid-thirteenth century. Some indication of the importance and spending power of the officers emerges from the 1291 taxation, where the Abbot was assigned some 40% of the total property of the Abbey, with the officers responsible for the remainder. The cellarer provided for the food of the convent, the reception of guests, certain annual pittances,[299] servants' liveries and other convent business.[300] The sacrist had a range of responsibilities, including: providing church lighting and candle wax, sacramental wine and bread; paying the wages of servants; repairing church ornaments; and allocating cash to other monastic work. He was also responsible for repairs of the church and other buildings, especially some standing within the close and belonging to the Abbot, and for the construction of future houses.[301] Precise levels of income remain unclear largely because of cross-subsidy and the resulting complexity of accounts, but it is certain that the cellarer received his income from some 40 manors, large and small, across the Liberty and elsewhere in Suffolk and in Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge and Lincoln. His management had a profound effect on the development of these manors.[302] The sacrist obtained his income from the town of St. Edmunds itself and a range of manors. In the 1291 taxation assessment, his revenue from the town was nearly two-thirds greater than from all other sources. Though the numbers may be understated, the proportions are more likely to be accurate and his actions and attitudes influenced the town's development and relations with the townspeople.[303] The sacrist also took profits from the mint; however, the profit in 1268 was a mere three pounds, and at a margin of sixpence per coin minted, operating the mint was more a matter of prestige than profit.[304] Minor offices included the treasurer, who provided the monks' clothes and shoes; the almoner, who provided support to the poor and needy; the pittancer (in effect a cook making special dishes), the infirmerer caring for sick brothers, the hospitaller providing firewood, towels and cloths, and the precentor providing paper and ink. All had income from specific manors (arable land, meadow and pasture), mills or churches, or were assigned portions from income otherwise designated for the cellarer or sacrist.

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[298] *Monasticon III*, pp.156-8: The separation was agreed with the king as a measure to prevent the convent's income being sequestered by the king. The king could and did claim the abbot's income when an abbatial vacancy occurred.

[299] Additional dishes for the monks provided according to custom at certain seasons.

[300] *Monasticon III* (Num. 24), p.156.

[301] Monasticon III (Num 24), p. 157.

[302] Set out in the section on Manors.

[303] *Bury Chronicle*, p.109; Total £125 17s 10d: from the town £82 5s; *'Summa £cxxv – xviis – xd; Villa Sancti Edmundii £iiii.xx.ii – vs'*. Covered in the section on Bury Town.

[304] S. Eaglen, 'The Mint at Bury St. Edmunds' in *JBAA Transactions 20*, p.118: sourced from BL MS Harley 638, fol.2.40 v.

Debt

The cellarer and sacrist managed the greater part of both income and expenditure and each had the potential to impact the Abbey's financial position and affect its ability to maintain existing buildings and construct new ones. The autonomy and the powers of these great officers and the problems they created are evident from the *Chronicle* of Jocelyn. He opens his work with a diatribe exposing how the Abbey created debts of £1200 in 1175 and berating the sacrist William, who between 1180 and 1182 did not pay debts, did not put up any buildings, but squandered income from offerings and gifts.[305] Jocelyn was writing an encomium to his Abbot (Samson), so some exaggeration can be expected, but details of the defects he reports such as superfluous expenses and feasting do have a ring of truth. They are also referenced by Snape, reporting on the lax control of monastic expenses.[306] According to Jocelyn, not always a reliable source, the result of long-standing mismanagement was that the debts of the Abbey to merchants, Jews and others amounted to £3052 or two and a half times the annual income.[307] Though the precise figure cannot be accepted without qualification, it is likely that it did indeed take many years for Samson to repay the debts.[308] All the officers had incurred debts, but it seems the chief offenders were the sacrist and the cellarer. The sacrist had apparently indulged in 'unmentionable activities' and 'frequent drinking sessions' and Samson replaced him and demolished his house. The cellarer was clearly inept, deep in debt by the end of the year. Samson first appointed a clerk to regulate expenditure then in 1197 he lost patience and deposed the cellarer, taking the work under his own control.[309] One result of such debts was that money to complete the Abbey church was not readily available.

In the later thirteenth century, the Abbey again had financial difficulties. This time the problem was largely external, arising from frequent and heavy royal taxation. Not only did Henry III, with the approval of the Pope, levy a tenth on all income in most years of his reign from 1250 to his death in 1272, but Edward I imposed taxes on moveables in the 1280s and raided the monasteries and cathedrals to pay for his wars with 'innumerable exactions, injuries and unjust losses daily inflicted on the Church'.[310] To meet these demands and the resultant cash flow problems, the abbots resorted to borrowing, especially from the bankers of Florence, whom they knew well as the majority of their wool was sold to Florence. They also employed a range of other expedients, generally somewhat risky, such as buying food on credit

[305] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, pp.7-9; R.H. Snape, English *Monastic Finances* in the later Middle Ages (London: Cambridge University Press, 1926, p.130.

[306] R.H. Snape, *English Monastic Finance in the late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), pp.128-129.

[307] Income in 1182 has been taken as a mid point between the incomes in 1096 and 1292.

[308] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.28.

[309] Ibid., pp.77-78.

[310] *Bury Chronicle*, p.139.

when prices were volatile and granting pensions of uncertain duration in return for a single grant of land or a lump sum.[311]

Managing the financial problems

When Samson became Abbot, Jocelyn reports that he took a range of actions to improve the Abbey's finances. These included taking all his manors, most of which had been leased for a fixed rent, into his own management with their equipment and livestock. He built new and repaired dilapidated manor houses and domestic buildings, added domestic apartments and appointed new custodians, both monks and laymen, who 'were more astute and would look after the estates more wisely'. He also made a list of all the rents and services due from both free and unfree tenants in his *Kalendar*, 'so that within four years of his election no one could cheat him of a penny of the abbacy rents'.[312] This can be seen as Jocelyn's tendency to praise Samson, but can also be compared to the experiment conducted by the councillors of Henry II in 1154, appointing paid managers rather than relying on those who had been put in charge as a royal favour.[313] Samson also took a range of measures to limit the powers of his obedientaries, prevent unauthorised borrowing and reduce the cost of operating the Abbey while still meeting its obligations and providing for its inhabitants.

Yet as well as repaying debts, reforming estate management and pursuing economies, Abbot Samson was a builder, as — to a lesser extent — were the abbots and sacrists who succeeded him in the thirteenth century. Despite his need to repay debt, Abbot Samson completed the great central tower of the west front and the repairs and erection of the north and west octagons with their towers. He also added a new bath-house and built a great aqueduct, bringing water from two miles away and providing new conduits and washing places 'of wonderful workmanship and admirable size'.[314]

After Samson, the main additions made were a new Chapter House (Hugh of Northwold, 1215-1229), a new Lady Chapel (Simon of Luton, 1257-1279) and a new charnel chapel (John of Northwold, 1279-1301). John also rebuilt Samson's great hospital of St. Saviours. The next paragraphs examine how the Abbey church and precinct buildings were paid for, especially against the background of cash and debt problems.

[311] Gransden, *History vol. 2*, p.129.
[312] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, pp.26-27.
[313] Detailed in Chapter Four, Writtle Manor
[314] Gransden, *History Vol 1*, pp. 87-89.

Financing the building of the Abbey

As Antonia Gransden comments: 'Jocelyn and the *Gesta Sacristarum* write about Samson's building … they reveal little about the cost'.[315] The same could be said about the buildings of all the sacrists and abbots of Bury in the years after 1066, though there is some information about financing and about purchasing the key materials of timber and stone. Perhaps the nearest comparison for estimating costs at Bury is Salisbury Cathedral (Figure 2.5), built between 1220 and 1266 at a cost of £28,000.[316] Comparative data on materials and labour can also be deduced from the Westminster building accounts of 1253.[317] Abbot Baldwin's initial building of the foundations, the apse and presbytery were completed by 1095.[318] While a precise start date is not known, the probability is that it was 1080, fifteen years before. The east end represents perhaps 20 % of the Salisbury building, giving a notional cost of £5600.[319] Adjusting the cost down for inflation between 1250 and 1090 (see Appendix 1) gives a cost of some £1680; over fifteen years this would have required average annual expenditure of approximately £112.

The Abbey's income in 1086 is estimated as £655. While it would have risen over the next fifteen years, using this as a baseline, after deducting some 50% for food and running costs, would mean that the building costs would represent 34%, perhaps reducing to 30% of non-food expenditure over the years to 1095. Unsurprisingly, Abbot Baldwin introduced special measures to help defray the costs. These included an annual tax of four pence per carucate (120 acres) on all the lands held by the Abbey in Suffolk and Norfolk, and grants of indulgences to encourage visitors to, and gifts for, the shrine of St. Edmunds.[320] Just as Salisbury Cathedral was, at least in part, funded by indulgences, with seven known to have been granted from 1271-1277, in an early charter of St Edmunds granted between 1102 and 1107, Archbishop Anselm extended indulgences from 10 days, as granted by Cardinal John, to 13 days.[321] According to D.C. Douglas, this John must have been the Italian Cardinal John Minuto, who came to England as a Papal legate from Rome in 1070. This may be the earliest indulgence known to have been granted to a church in England.[322]

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[315] Ibid., p.92.

[316] A.R. Jones, 'Gleanings from the 1253 Building Accounts of Westminster Abbey' *Avista Forum Journal* vol.11 No.2 (1998/9), pp.13-32, quoting from Statutes of Bishop Mortival stating a cost of 42,000 marks or, at a conversion of 1.5 marks to the pound, £28,000.

[317] Ibid.

[318] *Gesta Sacristarum*, p. 289.

[319] E. Fernie, 'Romanesque Church of Bury St. Edmunds', *p.4.*

[320] Yates, *History of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey*, p.132: *Monasticon III* pp.136 and 140.

[321] P.Z. Bhun 'The Sequence of Building Campaigns at Salisbury Cathedral', *Arts Bulletin* vol. 93 No. 1 (March 1991), 6-38 (p.9).

[322] *Feudal Documents*, pp. xliv-xlv and p.153 No.172. Minuto was appointed cardinal by Pope Gregory VII, and attended the Council of Winchester. He died circa 1090; *http://www2.fin.edu/-mirandas/bios1061.*

While it is possible to reach a very approximate cost for the first phase of building the Abbey church, thereafter there are few specific dates in any of the contemporary chronicles. They refer, for instance, to the completion of the refectory, chapterhouse, infirmary and abbot's hall under Godfrey and Abbot Robert (1102-1107).[323] In addition, as the timescale for completion of the church runs for over 100 years, from 1095 to shortly after the death of Abbot Samson in 1211 when the towers on the west front were finally completed, making even broad assumptions about the funds required is problematic.[324] The only assumptions that can be made are that materials such as timber and stone and key workmen such as masons and carpenters were expensive and must have been a significant proportion of annual costs, somewhere around 30% on the basis of the proportion of building costs for the construction of the east end.

Workmen and materials

There are no references to the workmen who laboured under the masons and carpenters to undertake the new building and repair work. Unlike Cistercians, who were enjoined to undertake manual labour, the purpose of the Benedictine monk was to devote his life to God through meditation, prayer and the mass. Some labour would have been performed by the monks; but there is no evidence that the Benedictines generally had a system of lay brothers, which was a feature of other monastic houses such as Waverley, where the Cistercian Abbey was recorded in 1187 as having 70 monks and 120 lay brethren.[325] The *Domesday Book* cites 75 servants of the Abbey in 1086, but these were general servants such as cooks, brewers, bakers and shoemakers.[326] There must, however, have been a substantial workforce of building labourers and assistant masons over the summer months for most of the late eleventh and all of the twelfth century.
What we do have is a sequence of references in chronicles and charters of how some of the materials were sourced, in particular stone and timber, which made up 60% of the building materials required.[327] Jocelyn refers to Samson having 'a great supply of stone and sand hauled up for the construction of the great tower of the church'.[328] There is a royal writ commanding the Abbot of Peterborough to allow the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds to quarry and cart stones from the quarries at Barnack for the building of the church.[329] In the thirteenth century, Henry III ordered that the Abbey should receive great oaks from his woods in Cumberland.[330]

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[323] *Gesta Sacristarum*, p. 259.
[324] *Gesta Scaristarum*, p.291.
[325] Snape, *Monastic Finances*, p.8.
[326] *Domesday Book Suffolk*, 14.167.
[327] Jones, *Gleanings*, p.30.
[328] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.10.
[329] *Feudal Documents*, p.57 writ 11.
[330] Rackham, 'The Abbey Woods' in j*BAA Trans. 20* (1998) 139-160 (p.147)

The *Gesta Sacristarum* and Jocelyn give tantalising glimpses of the funding for additional buildings, without giving any data on either the materials or the money required. Thus, they record that Walter the physician gave a large donation for a new almonry made of stone and roofed with tiles.[331] The sacrist Richard of Newport (1220-1234) built a new chapter house during the abbacy of Hugh of Northwold, financing it partly by acquiring a profitable fishery at Icklingham, and Simon of Luton built a new Lady Chapel, funded partly by a 40-day indulgence for confessed sinners giving gifts and alms and partly by his friends and relatives.[332] While there is some information about cost and what each Abbot built, there is very little about why they built. The next sections consider this question.

The Abbot builders and their motivation

Of the seven abbots appointed to Bury between 1085 and 1211, four (Baldwin, Robert, Anselm and Samson) built extensively, creating the Abbey church and many buildings in the Abbey precinct. Under these four abbots, the town was also laid out, houses built for their staff and for poor scholars, and finance donated to build and maintain a hospital at each of the five gates for town dwellers and pilgrims. On their estates, they built or repaired manor houses and granaries, constructed parks and refurbished local parish churches, especially where they had the advowson. However, the outstanding building was the new Abbey church begun by Abbot Baldwin and continued for the next hundred years until the great west front was completed under Abbot Samson.

The impetus for building

In the early nineteenth century, the Rev. R. Yates had little doubt about the motives of the Abbot and his monks. He observed that

> The monks expend a considerable portion of their vast riches in extending and beautifying the buildings of the monastery and a constant object of their ambition appears to have been to equal if not surpass all their contemporaries in the number and stateliness of their edifices.[333]

Yates goes on to list as evidence for this claim the four grand gates, the lofty walls and the vast enclosure of the Abbey with the Abbot's Palace, courtyard, garden, chapter house, towers, cloisters, ambulatories, three smaller churches and several chapels as well as the hospitals and chapels in the town.

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[331] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.85.
[332] Gransden, *History Vol 1*, pp.234 and 286 'Douai, BM MS 553, f.9t
[333] Yates, *History and Antiquities of St. Edmunds Bury*, p.185.

The buildings in the precinct other than the Abbey church reflect St. Benedict's rules about monastic duties and obligations, and the requirements of the 80 monks living and worshipping in the Abbey. The architecture and the arrangements may have been rather more elaborate for noble visitors than for others, but although this was the case at many abbeys and monasteries, such as Canterbury, there is no architectural evidence of it at Bury.[334] Equally, the town hospitals, as well as the almonry and hostels in the precinct itself, would have been required to fulfil the Benedictine precept that guests should be welcome, hospitality must be extended to pilgrims and care of the sick was required. All these would have been motivated by the tradition of Benedictine obligations and the buildings needed for the operation of the monastery.

However, there is also some evidence of what could be construed as a desire to allow for elements of the aristocratic lifestyle. Jocelyn writes of how, as well as houses for guests to stay in, Samson created parks stocked with game for his guests to hunt.[335] But even here, St. Edmund's Abbey was acting in the same way, though on a smaller scale, as the great bishoprics of Winchester, Canterbury and Durham, which each had at least twenty such parks.[336] It is debatable whether the parks were what might be termed a vanity project or whether they were economically profitable. As well as providing hunting opportunities for visiting aristocrats and game for the table, they were used for grazing and generating income from sales of timber and underwood. On balance, it seems likely that up to 1350, economic activity was marginally secondary to the entertainment value of the parks.[337] From these arguments, it would seem that the motives of the abbot builders were more complex than the Rev. Yates assumed.

Baldwin

Abbot Baldwi saw that the existing church that housed the relics of St. Edmund was small and unable to cater for the increase in the number of pilgrims visiting the shrine. For at least three hundred years after the Conquest, St. Edmund's shrine remained one of the foremost centres of pilgrimage in England. Rebuilding also sprang from a desire to provide a more beautiful and fitting shrine for the relics. Nevertheless, Baldwin was determined to preserve the independence and jurisdiction of the Abbey and his own position, blocking with appeals to the King and the Pope the attempts of Herfast, Bishop of Norfolk, to locate his see at Bury St.

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[334] M. Sparks, *Canterbury Cathedral Precincts: A Historical Survey*, (Canterbury:Dean and Chapter, 2007pp.12–84; P. Fergusson, 'Canterbury Cathedral Priory's Bath House and Fishpond', in E. van Houts, ed., *Proceedings of Battle Conference 2014* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Publishers, 2015).

[335] Ibid.

[336] S.A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.30 and 109.

[337] Ibid., pp.65–66.

Edmunds. The Abbot was a patriarch and a companion of royalty, and understandably did not want to cede power and wealth away from his successors. Given the part played at the time by the great abbeys and their abbots as centres of learning and medicine and as advisors to kings and princes, there were good reasons for Baldwin to fight to retain his and his Abbey's role. His approach could be said to have been justified by the events at the neighbouring Abbey of Ely. There, bishops had been appointed in place of abbots since the death of Abbot Richard in 1107. These bishops exercised the temporal duties of the abbot, supporting the king and undertaking other state duties, while a prior managed the Abbey.[338] This would have halved the extent of the abbot's influence, affecting the monastic estates and the town.

Robert and Anselm

Abbot Robert, Baldwin's successor (1101-1107), largely created the precinct buildings. Little remains of these and there is no documentary evidence to suggest that they were exceptional. Robert sought to ensure that the monastery could operate, creating buildings which were primarily practical. He was succeeded by Aldobeldas (Abbot 1107-1119) but there are no references to his building activities. However, his sacrists, Tolin and Godfrey, presided over the increase in the scale of the Abbey church. Bishop Anselm (1120-1148) completed much that had been started, including the nave, the lower part of the west front with its three great arches, and the Norman tower marking the processional entrance to the Abbey. He also enclosed the precinct with a wall built between 1120 and 1148. It was not unusual for an abbey or convent to be enclosed; reasons would have included prevention of theft (for instance of stores, produce and even horses) and protection of the privacy of the monks. It would nevertheless have added to the prestige of the Abbey.

Samson

The other important builder was Samson (1182-1211), who completed a major extension to the west front. This has been described as 'the most monumental, the most complex, the most extraordinary, seemingly without close parallels … nothing like it was built during the Romanesque period'.[339] According to Samson's chronicler Jocelyn, this west front, and especially its central tower, was a personal ambition; but he also talks of a divine voice saying 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant'

[338] E. Miller, ed., *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p.65.
[339] McAleer, 'The West Façade', 127-150.

— giving Samson the worthy desire to build to the greater glory of God as well as recognising his personal ambition. [340]

From this summary, it seems that all these abbots built to fulfil the practical needs of the Abbey, to defend it and provide a safe place for the services it performed. Yet, with hindsight, Baldwin, Anselm and the sacrists who extended the nave and Samson who finished the West front could be said also to have been driven by worldly ambition when they deliberately extended the nave and built the extraordinary Western façade. However, there must have been support for their approach to enable them to incur the expenditure. Equally, while Samson's behaviour in many aspects of his abbacy was admirable, the building of the west façade also involved rather less than honourable actions.[341] Jocelyn reported that he felled for his own use some trees in Elmswell Wood that the Bishop of Ely had asked for, explaining to the Bishop that he had quoted the wrong wood. However, such behaviour is compatible with his determined approach to the management of the Abbey when he reorganised the administration after the lax rule of Abbot Hugh, removing a cellarer for incompetence in 1193, facing down opposition to reforms, and by his energy and decisive action clearing the debts incurred by his predecessor.[342]

However, it is difficult from the 21st century to understand fully the approach of clerics in the 11th–14th centuries. The sentiment expressed by St Augustine was that 'church building was … a manifestation in stone of Christian devotion and could be seen as a sign of the constant renewal of Christianity itself'.[343] The approach of the Abbey's builders seems to have been a mix of piety, pride, duty and devotion to God. This will be contrasted with the impetus that led the Earls of Norfolk to build their second castle at Framlingham and the kings to build castles at Colchester and Orford.[344]

However, none of the abbots' building activities, whatever the motivation, would have been possible without the income generated from the Abbey's estates. The next section looks at how the Abbey managed them.

Bury St. Edmunds manors

Bury St. Edmunds' income from its manors made up 70% of the secular income recorded in the 1291 tax return.[345] This income was therefore essential to enable

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[340] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.11: 'In the course of time he built the tower…and thus achieved his dearest wish'.

[341] Ibid., pp.78-9.

[342] Ibid., pp.63-4.

[343] A. Gajewski, 'The Choir of Auxerre Cathedral and the Question of a Burgundian Gothic Architecture', in *JBAA* vol. 171 (2018) 34-60, (p.42).

[344] See Chapters Three and Four.

[345] *Bury Chronicle*, pp.103–113. The remainder came from the town of Bury and religious income from shrines.

the Abbey to feed and clothe the monks, keep the great feast days, entertain guests and pilgrims and support activities in the town. It also funded a large part of the costs of building the Abbey, the associated buildings in the Abbey precinct and all the halls, granges and barns on the estates. There are a total of 167 entries for Abbey lands in the *Domesday Book* for Suffolk, ranging in size from one free man with 12 acres to 40 villagers and 1440 acres, and from two freemen with 20 acres to ten villagers and ten smallholders with 1200 acres.[346] Unlike those of Ely Cathedral, the Abbey's holdings are geographically close, most in west Suffolk but otherwise clustered in east Suffolk and on the Suffolk/Norfolk border. Equally, while many manors had multiple landlords, the Abbey was the sole landholder on a large number of its holdings.[347] This meant that the stewards had full control over decisions such as crops to be grown, collection of dues, imposition of fines and utilisation of services owed by customary tenants. A third difference, which may have detracted rather than aided the effectiveness of crop management, was that the Abbey continued the pre-Conquest system of requiring a number of manors to supply food to the Abbey in specific months of the year (known as food farms), for years after it had been discontinued on royal and baronial manors.[348]

Seven manors have been selected to illustrate aspects of the Bury estate.[349] The manors of Ingham and Elvedon were chosen because the terms of the lease, attested by Abbot Samson at the end of the thirteenth century, illustrate economic issues such as technical improvements in cultivation (including use of the more marginal Suffolk Breckland), employment of customary labour, and the continued existence of food farms. On architectural issues, the lease sets out details of buildings, illustrating typical manorial buildings of the period. At Hinderclay, manorial accounts give a detailed picture of the economy and management of a demesne manor. The Abbey's approach is explored further using customary service data from Pakenham and Chevington. Worlingworth was selected because it illustrates a different approach to some land management and customary labour issues and has many details of its extensive manor house complex. Redgrave also has details of its manorial buildings and those needed to accommodate the Abbot, his more important guests and their interest in hunting. While there are few physical remains of buildings on any Bury manors, evidence from manorial accounts and charters allows credible reconstruction of the halls and other buildings, both residential and administrative.

Economically, the manors appear from the available documentation to have developed differently, depending on the soil types, nearness to markets and whether the manor was part of the food farm system supplying the Abbey over the

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[346] *Suffolk Domesday Book*, Part One: Great Levermere 14.22, Whepstead 14.3, 14,165 and 14,21

[347] For instance, Icklingham, where the ownership was split between the King (1,115), Ranulf Peverel 34,1 and John son of Waleran 55,1. *Suffolk Domesday Book* Part One and Part Two.

[348] Gransden, *History of Bury St. Edmunds* Volume 1, pp.281-287.

[349] Listed in Appendix 2 and shown in Figure 2.21.

course of the year. However, a consistent feature of all the chosen manors was detailed management. An examination of work in Hinderclay provides the clearest illustration of this. The approach adopted by the Abbey's stewards and bailiffs is similar to that of the Earls of Suffolk and Norfolk, but does differ substantially from that of the King.[350]

Impact of the Norman Conquest

There seems to have been little or no disadvantage to the Bury manors from the Norman Conquest, and most of them subsequently increased in value. This was to be expected, since Edward the Confessor's grant of estates to the Abbey was confirmed by King William and his successors. The increase is demonstrated in the *Domesday Book*: looking at the first ten entries for the Abbey, the taxable value rose from £47.50 before 1066 to £69 in 1086, a rise of 45%. Even allowing for inflation of some 15%, this still gives additional value of 30% in 20 years.[351] Looking deeper into the entries this result is confirmed for a second randomly selected group of ten manors.[352] One reduced in value by 10d to 20s, the value of three others remained unchanged and the remaining six all increased in value by between 50 and 100%. Of the seven manors chosen for study, five increased in value and two remained with an unchanged value.[353]

The food farms

The system of food farms had originated before the Conquest, and was common on many of the great monastic estates such as Ramsey and Winchester, as well as on the estates of the King and the great secular lords.[354] The intention was to ensure that regular supplies for the household or community would be received each month from different estates that were able to supply the required provisions in sufficient quantity. On the King's Essex manors, the *Domesday Book* refers to food farm levies on four of the 27 entries, but all were discontinued before 1086.[355] The key reason for this was that a Norman King's movements were unpredictable and varied widely, particularly given his responsibilities in Normandy. Organising the provision and delivery of supplies from royal manors became logistically difficult. As

[350] See Chapters Three and Four.

[351] Inflation estimates are provided in Appendix 1.

[352] *Domesday Book*, 14.54 – 63.14, excluding the very small 14.56.

[353] See Appendix 4.

[354] Gransden, *History*, Vol.1, p.281; Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.203.

[355] Writtle (1.24): ten nights' provisions were converted to an annual payment of £100 and 100s in gifts; Brightlingsea (1.26): two nights' provisions converted to a payment of £22; Lawford (1.27): two nights' provisions converted to £11; Newport (1.28): two nights converted to £24.

importantly, many more markets developed in the twelfth and, especially, the thirteenth centuries so that obtaining local food supplies wherever they were required became easier.[356]

However, for abbeys such as Bury, it was logistically easier, as supplies only needed to be delivered to one location, the nature of the supplies required was less variable, and deliveries could be planned in advance. The system was still in existence at the end of the thirteenth century and is detailed in the same manuscript as Abbot Samson's *Kalendar*.[357] Sixteen farms were listed as sending between them 52 weekly supplies of corn, brewing barley and brewing oats.[358] This requirement was also set out in the *Monasticon* lists of weekly supplies to feed the Abbey's community.[359] It was not unreasonable to continue with the system for a single location such as the Abbey. Since a large part of the requirements were for basic foodstuffs —corn and barley and the supplies needed to create basic drinks, such as brewing barley and oats — pre-determined deliveries of food meant that whatever the glut or famine, high or low prices, the monks and their guests would at least be able to survive.[360]

The *Monasticon* list also gives an indication of why secular households withdrew from the food farm system. The aristocratic diet called for a much wider range of foods than could be supplied from their largely arable manors, including exotic meats, venison, spices and wines.[361] Together with the increase in the number and range of markets, this meant that lay lords discontinued the system after 1066.[362] Even at the Abbey, meat, fish, eggs, beans, honey, peas, nuts and salt, as well as the more indulgent foodstuffs such as pork, beef and goose, had to be separately purchased.[363] However, as late as 1186-1202 a new charter leasing Elvedon to Solomon of Whepstead stated that two food farms a year must be sent annually to the cellarer in lieu of all fees and customary duties.[364] The system had regular rotations of the farms, with shortfalls being made up from elsewhere, and it operated at least until the middle of the thirteenth century. Accounts for 1257/8 for one of the Bury food farms (Horringer) record loads delivered and prices and the shortfalls in these years of widespread harvest failure and famine.[365] The

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[356] Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349'

[357] Davis, *Kalendar*, p.50.

[358] Corn 16.6 summa, brewing barley 10.4 summa; brewing oats 27.4 summa. A *summa* is often translated as a seam, but the volume is not clear, except that it was more than a bushel as these are mentioned as part of a seam.

[359] *Monasticon*, vol. 3 No. 30, 161-2: 16.6 seams of wheat, 12.5 seams of brewing barley and 32 of brewing oats.

[360] Gransden, *History Vol.1*, p.285.

[361] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.204.

[362] See Chapter Four.

[363] *Monasticon* 3 No. 30: '*De frumento xvj summae dim.; De bras. Ordei xij. Summae; De bras. Avenae xxxij*'.

[364] *Kalendar*, Charter 77, pp.118–119.

[365] Gransden, *History Vol.1*, p.286.

requirements for monastic supplies impacted crops grown on the manors involved (see below).

Manorial organisation

Each Bury manor was assigned to the Abbot or to an officer in the Abbey's administration (obedientary).[366] Of the manors selected for detailed study, Elvedon, Ingham and Pakenham all contributed either revenue or a regular 'food farm' to the cellarer. Hinderclay was in the care of the chamberlain, had significant customary services and was an example of a manor being managed for optimal profit. The cellarer's manor of Pakenham also provided a large element of customary services. Chevington, Redgrave and Worlingworth were assigned to the Abbot himself. According to Jocelyn, Abbot Samson, as part of his drive to optimise the income for the Abbey, repaired the houses and domestic buildings on the manors, built new chapels and added domestic apartments. These housed the monks and the laymen (acting as stewards or reeves) whom he appointed to look after the estates.[367] All the estates selected also had a church with free land attached which would have acted as a centre for the community.
It was important that the halls and manorial buildings were repaired and replaced where necessary. They were central to manorial administration, acting as a focus for collecting dues as well as managing the individual estates and in some cases being the venue for manorial courts.[368] At the same time, larger complexes, such as those at Redgrave and Worlingworth on the Bury estates, which were large enough for the Abbot to entertain his noble guests, also had fishponds, dovecotes and woodland for hunting.

Demesne management and customary services

One of the contentious aspects of demesne management was the issue of services to be performed by villeins or customary tenants. Since in c.1300 around half of all peasant land in England was held on villein tenure, the question of the efficacy and enforcement of villein services is relevant to an understanding of the economics of agriculture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Villeins commonly owed services to their lord as part of the rent of their land. These services varied, but could be one or two days each week (week works, task unspecified) as well as ploughing, carting

[366] These were listed and separated by agreement with the King in 1283. The tax details in the *Bury Chronicle* also show the obedientary responsible for specific manors. *Bury Chronicle*, pp.104-112.
[367] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, pp.26-27.
[368] Christie and Stamper, eds. *Medieval Rural Settlement*, pp.65-66.

and reaping services at sowing and harvest time.[369] There are warning words in abbey leases of the need to respect local customs and not push for additional work, which would probably have been done poorly, if at all, and would have created resentment. This is an area where, in the last century, Marxist and other economic theorists argued that seignurial exploitation deprived villeins of the ability to raise agricultural productivity, while others argued that the customary services were holding back the development of agricultural technology and improvements. For instance, B.M.S. Campbell suggested that by continuing to insist on tenant services the Abbey seemed to have been indifferent to the poor return obtained from its manors such as Hinderclay, Redgrave and Rickinghall.[370]

New studies of manorial documents have led to some reassessment, reflecting the flexibility and variability of customary services and the interaction between lord and villein. The wide variety of services and the detailed specification is illustrated in three documentary references for Pakenham.[371] All tenants holding 16 acres had to scatter dung from dawn to dusk of one day and it counted as one 'work'. Seven tenants who each held eight acres of land had to provide two days of work each week, reap five acres at harvest time and hoe and plough four acres without food, as well as providing one hen and five eggs. Those with two carucates (240 acres) had to reap for eight days in the autumn, with food provided. The food element was important, because it made the work attractive to the peasant, although it caused additional, and not insignificant, cost to the landlord. However, in 1280 there was also movement on some Abbey manors to commute services for money. Examples include 'a payment of 28d annually' to be paid in four instalments 'in lieu of all services, customs and demands'; this is typical of the changes being made, which were perhaps due to the Abbey's debt problems.[372] It would seem that solving the Abbey's money problems was more important than retaining all the customary services.

Yet services continued to be important on some of the Bury demesne manors.The manor of Chevington in the 1270s illustrates their impact. The steward could call on some 2000 days of tenant work services each week and 1000 harvest works.[373] At an average wage of 1d per day, this represented a possible saving of £12 10s; and once wages started to rise, or more specialists such as ploughmen and reapers were employed, the saving could increase by 50% to 100%. Charters attested at the end of the thirteenth century confirm that the Abbey was still insisting on customary services in many areas.[374] However, on closer inspection, at least on some manors

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[369] M. Bailey, *The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England: From Bondage to Freedom* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p.16.

[370] B.M.S Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture from 1250-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.420.

[371] Hallam, *Agrarian History* Vol.2, pp.282-3.

[372] Gransden, *Bury Abbey History Vol.2*, pp.191-193.

[373] Bailey, *Decline of Serfdom*, p.170.

[374] Samson, *Kalendar*, p.103 (Charter 51); p.104, (Charter 54); p.130 (Charter 9).

the Abbot's estate managers appear to have used the system of services carefully, to convert them to rent where this seemed more practical, to maximise profit as at Hinderclay and to use them thoughtfully as at Elvedon and Ingham.[375]

Elvedon and Ingham

The significance for a manor of being a food farm is that the timing and specific supplies required governed, at least in part, the crops grown, not allowing local soil types or markets to dictate the choice. There are records for the cropping patterns of lords and peasants in the Breckland village of Ingham in 1283 (Table 2.1).[376]

Table 2.1: Cropping patterns in the village of Ingham, 1283

Crop	**Peasants**		**Abbey**	
	Qtr.	**Bushel**	**Qtr.**	**Bushel**
Wheat	0	4	20	0
Rye	51	0	38	0
Oats	11	0	48	0
Legumes*	3	0	0	4
Barley	25	0	50	0

*Probably peas and beans

Both Ingham and Elvedon lie partly on the Breckland, where the soil is poor. Table 2.1 shows that peasants grew very little wheat, but the Abbey preferred it, not only because it commanded a higher price in the market but also because it was more acceptable for bread making. The peasants grew rye, oats and barley to feed themselves and their animals and also more peas and beans, probably to supplement the diet of their animals and to improve their soil as they would have had fewer animals to create manure, and less grazing available. The food farm at Elvedon required a higher ratio of wheat to be grown (16 wheat, 27 oats and10 barley) compared to peasant preference.
Despite these constraints, both Ingham and Elvedon were thriving manors with an extensive range of buildings, crops and livestock. The details are set out in a charter leasing out both manors that was written and sealed sometime between 1186 and 1202. At Ingham, three barns worth together 46s, a granary worth 5s, cattle sheds and other enclosures are listed. The largest barn measured some 22m and had a capacity of 211 sq. m.[377] This barn had some 43% of the capacity of the great Barley

[375] For example, Charter 114, in Samson, *Kalendar*, p.143, converts services owed by a tenant to rent when the holding is transferred to the tenant's wife and daughter.
[376] M. Bailey, *Marginal Economy*, p.141; *A Suffolk Hundred*, Tax list 16.
[377]The dimensions were 22m (66ft) long, 9.6m (32ft) wide and 7.2m (24ft) high.

Barn at Cressing.[378] The acreage at Ingham with associated lands was a little over half that of Cressing, so the capacity of the main barn at Ingham was broadly on a par with the Cressing barn given the difference in acreage.[379] Yet at Ingham there were two more barns that provided a further 364 sq. m capacity. This suggests that the Ingham barns could be used for storage of grain from other manors nearby. No trace of the barns remains or of the manorial buildings listed (a hall and adjacent buildings worth 20s), but it is likely that these would have been arranged as a traditional manorial site (Figure 1.10).

At Elvedon, a new barn and a second barn are detailed, plus a shelter, oxen and horses to plough and over 1000 sheep. The buildings here were valued at some 33s, less than those at Ingham, and no hall is mentioned. This suggests that Elveden was a working area for arable, storage and grazing rather than, like Ingham, a manor where a manager would be resident for at least part of the year and rents and dues collected. It seems likely that the leaseholder, Solomon of Whepstead, arranged for Elvedon and Ingham to be managed together to ensure that the food farm deliveries were despatched, crops properly managed and stored and buildings optimised. The lease is also specific about three other aspects of management. Solomon is required not to sell any land without the agreement of the Abbey and community, a standard condition, but there are also two very specific conditions: to safeguard the heathlands 'receiving from them as much as a tenant farmer must reasonably make' and not to extort new money from the existing men of the vills.[380] Looking first at the heathland requirement, the East Anglian Breckland is a poorly drained upland heath area of surface sand covering an Upper Cretaceous chalk bed and drained by a number of rivers including the Blackbourne and the Lark. Safeguarding of the heathlands related both to Ingham and Elvedon, areas where more than half of the land is categorised as grade 4 agricultural, that is land with severe limitations due to adverse soil or climate conditions and only suitable for low-output enterprises.[381] The poor soil quality meant that crops could only be grown where there was constant manuring of the land, and the historic arrangements to ensure that this was done had to be respected. The manuring was achieved by controlling the grazing of the sheep flocks which dominated the area through an extensive system of fold courses: sequentially marking out areas for grazing by using moveable wattle fencing and hurdles. The importance of the system and that tenants adhered to it can be illustrated by the fact that in the early fourteenth century land that had not been manured cost 4d per acre compared to 24d an acre for manured land.[382] The system did appear to work well for the

[378] See Chapter Four.

[379] At Ingham there were 470 acres of arable land, at Cressing 900 acres.

[380] Samson, *Kalendar*, p.120, Charter 77.

[381] Bailey, *A Marginal Economy*, pp.28 and 35-36.

[382] Ibid., p.81, quoting reference from BL Harl. 230 f155.

tenants. The 1283 subsidy lists the relative wealth of the inhabitants of Ingham as shown in Table 2.2: [383]

Table 2.2: Relative value of moveable goods, inhabitants of Ingham, 1283

Lord (1)		£54 2s 10d *per individual*
Wealthy peasants (8)	£49 4s 5d	£6 3s *per individual*
Poorer peasants (19)	£31 17s 11d	£1 13s 6d *per individual*

The figures can be compared to tax returns for Colchester in 1296, when some 50% of inhabitants had goods valued at less than 7s (see Chapter Four).
At the poorest level, an income of over £1, while far from comfortable, was at least better than subsistence. The insistence in the lease was therefore of particular importance to safeguard both the profitability and the long-term economy of the heathland area and the manors involved. The other stipulation relates to established and customary duties and has wider implications across other Bury manors, as explored earlier.

Hinderclay

Hinderclay manor has been studied in detail from 1314-1347. [384] Though the later years of the study are beyond the statistical boundaries of this research, the early years are relevant. Hinderclay has 23 yearly accounts surviving for this period, facilitating a detailed analysis of its management and results. The manor at first sight appears to conform to the long-held perception of a commercially insensitive and technologically unenlightened demesne: a monastic landlocked manor far from any urban markets.[385] Evidence of its crop yields could be said to support this view. They were relatively low, much lower than the highest achieving areas such as Marham in Norfolk and little better than the Westminster manors characterised as 'dismal' by Harvey.[386]

[383] *A Suffolk Hundred*, Appendices.
[384] D. Stone, 'Medieval Farm Management and technological mentalities: Hinderclay before the Black Death', *EcHR* vol.54. No.4 (Nov. 2001) 612-638.
[385] Ibid., pp. 625-6, records that it was land-locked, with the nearest water access probably at Thetford, some 5 miles away.
[386] B.F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1977) p.331; Stone, 'Medieval Farm management', p.616.

Table 2.3: Crop yields showing bushels per acre before the Black Death

Demesne	Years	Winter-sown cereals			Summer-sown cereals		
		Wheat	Rye	Maslin	Barley	Oats	Dredge
Marham Norfolk	1294-1240	18.0		16.2	15.4	16.6	
Cuxham Oxford	1294-1359		14.4		19.8	9.2	15.0
Rimpton Somerset	1283-1349	6.5			10.4	7.5	9.0
Hinderclay Suffolk	1289-1347	7.6	7.1	11.7	9.9	5.7	7.7

Despite this apparently poor yield, the profit at Hinderclay remained remarkably stable for ten years, even though there were climatic extremes, outbreaks of animal sickness and volatile prices. The profits recorded were £70 in 1314; £55 in 1316; and £60 in 1318.[387] These results were achieved by three management strategies. The first was to adjust the acreage of wheat to the expected market price. That this was done is demonstrated by the figures set out in Table 2.4.[388]

Table 2 4:Market price and wheat acreages

Year	Price	Acreage
1320	4.4	67
1321	6.5	70.5

The yield to produce the quantity that the local estate manager (usually a reeve or farm manager appointed by the Abbey) thought could be harvested and sold at a good profit was also governed by the density of sowing, and that would be reflected in the cost of seed. However, figures are not fully consistent across the decades and the farm managers may have taken account of temporary variables and adjusted for extremes.

[387] Stone,'Medieval Farm management', p.133.

[388] Market price information from surrounding markets for the current and previous years for autumn sales (for spring sowing) and spring sales (for autumn sowings) would be known to the villagers, and together with weather conditions would enable them to form a reasonable estimate of likely prices in most years.

The second approach was to relate the amount of barley and oats sown to consumption, and also to the success or failure of the winter-sown crops. The third was to use labour to weed and manure the fields according to the yield required for sale or for consumption, since more intensive and frequent weeding improved yields. This last tactic could affect the profit margin even where there were significant customary or 'free' services. If not required to help increase yield payment for services would increasethe income of the manor.
Each approach had an impact on managing yield to meet a profit target. The broad assumption that low yield inevitably meant poor performance cannot therefore be taken as a supportable assumption in all, or perhaps even most, periods when strong local stewardship was coupled with good market intelligence and careful land management. The data above demonstrates that demesne management was more complex and probably more geared to profit than may previously have been assumed.
The size of tenant holdings and the number of tenants in Hinderclay is recorded for the tax list of 1300. The tax was broadly 1d an acre and the data shows that only five of a total of 49 tenants held 15 acres or more.[389] There is little data on their effectiveness as farmers or their incomes and whether they adopted the same farming approaches as used on the Abbey demesne lands. Equally, there is no information about how the poorest peasants were affected by the requirement to work on their lord's land or pay to commute this work.
The management of Worlingworth manor differs in many respects from that of Hinderclay. It still shows that the Abbey took care to use its lands with an eye to good returns and to take advantage of different approaches to customary services where this would improve income.

Worlingworth

As with Hinderclay, there are significant documentary resources covering the manor of Worlingworth, including extents, court rolls and charters. These were used extensively by John Ridgard in his thesis on the local history of Worlingworth, which formed the basis for this review of the manor.[390] Two aspects of the manor are relevant to the Abbey's management: use of the arable land and the approach to tenant services. Worlingworth lay well to the east of the Abbey and was one of the original food farms before 1066. No specific date has been documented for when it ceased to be a food farm, but it is likely to have been before 1200. At that date, Abbot Samson granted part of the income from the manor to the hospital of St. Saviour's and it seems most likely it had already dropped out of the list.[391] Although

[389] P.R. Schofield, 'Dearth, Debt and the Local Land Market in a Late Thirteenth Century Village Community, *Agricultural History Review,* vol.45, no. 1 (1997) 1-17.
[390] J. Ridgard, 'The Local History of Worlingworth, Suffolk to c. 1400 A.D.', *(Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1984*).
[391] *Kalendar*, p.89, Charter 26.

distance may have been one of the reasons for Worlingworth being dropped, a more powerful cause may have been that it was a good corn-producing area. There were many local markets for sales, but as it was within 14 miles of the (then) great East Coast port of Dunwich it was also likely to be exporting grain. By the thirteenth century this had become a lucrative trade across the North Sea. In support of this export trade, Ridgard quotes the court case of Johannes Dousing owing wheat to Dunwich in 1306.[392] Just how extensive and lucrative the trade was is indicated by the fines imposed by Richard I in 1198. Dunwich was fined 1060 marks (£706) and Kings Lynn 100 marks (£650) for breaking the King's embargo on exports.[393]
Evidence from documents from 1250 onwards shows that land in Worlingworth was extensively manured by marling, even though this was time-consuming. The likely reason for this is that none of the usual words for an area being left fallow are used, and it is probable therefore that the practice of land being allowed to lie fallow every third year was no longer being followed.[394] Accounts for the first seven months of 1278-9 show that 55.7% of crop sales were of wheat. The percentage of grain sales rises to 70% when sales of oats and barley are included. Rye was vital as food for animals, and it could be grown on the poorer soils of Breckland areas such as parts of Ingham and Elvedon, but none was recorded as grown in Worlingworth; instead it was imported from other manors or bought in.[395] From this data it appears that the Abbey was utilising the manor to grow the best and most saleable crops, taking some care of the land's fertility and so optimising the income available.
Worlingworth also differed from some of the other Abbey manors in that in the thirteenth century, particularly for smaller villein or unfree holdings, service requirements were replaced by higher rents. One tenant leased 61 acres, paying 7½d per acre, while an older tenant paid 0.45d but owed a range of services.[396] Such flexibility was reflected in the use that could be made of the services and their value compared to the cost.
As in Hinderclay, little is recorded in the documents of tenant crop growing or of their housing. With at least 30 individuals and their families recorded in the *Domesday Book* (perhaps some 135-140 people) there must have been many cottages and other buildings in the area. However, Worlingworth did have a large manorial complex and the various rolls and accounts give details of this.
While these are only a selection of the many Bury manors, the impression of good management is supported by Gransden in a detailed review of the Abbey's economy. From her study of thirteenth century accounts, she suggests that 'the

[392] Ridgard, 'Worlingworth', Chapter 5, p.47.
[393] Bates and Liddiard, *East Anglia and its North Sea World*,.p. 184; Pipe Roll 9 *Richard 1* (1197-8), 92-3, 137-8, 209-10.
[394] Ridgard, 'Worlingworth', p.41: words such as 'warectum' or 'frisca' are not recorded. Manuring would be essential for a regime without fallow periods.
[395] Ibid., pp.47-48.
[396] Ridgard, 'Worlingworth', p.54.

monks' concern to preserve the productivity of the manors appears in a number of contexts'.[397] These included ensuring that stock levels were maintained, yields recorded and buildings repaired and replaced when necessary.

Buildings on the Bury estates

Though there are no remains of peasant buildings above ground, many of the charters in the *Kalendar, Feudal Book*, and the *Pinchbeck Register* refer to a messuage.[398] The form of buildings is not recorded, but maintenance agreements in East Anglian court rolls assign old people to a number of buildings on a holding and references to peasant barns are not infrequent.[399] This would seem to indicate that a messuage would contain at least one dwelling-house and possibly a barn, and would have an area for growing food or herbs, or keeping a cow or pigs. This conforms to recent archaeological evidence, for instance at Days Road, Suffolk.[400] Documentary evidence from other counties indicates that dwelling houses varied widely. [401] However, the only extensive documentary evidence on the Bury estates relates to manorial buildings.

Manorial buildings

There is documentary evidence that on many Bury manors there was a hall where rents and other dues could be collected. The phrase 'making payment at our hall/ halls of' occurs, for instance, in charters for Rougham, Fornham, Horringer and Saxham.[402] There may not have been a manager's house on these manors, and there is little in the accounts to indicate how big the halls were or what they were made of, but some indication of size can be deduced from relative costs. At Ingham the hall and buildings are listed as worth 20s. It is likely that the hall was a single large room with wooden trestle table, forms and a chair for the steward to receive rents. There would almost certainly — from the evidence of archaeological finds in deserted villages of iron hasps, keys and locks — be lockable wooden chests for secure storage.[403] It is probable that the several buildings referenced in the Ingham lease would have included a chamber for use by a bailiff and a separate bake-house

[397] Gransden, *History of Bury*, volume 1, p.261.

[398] For example, Charters 67 and 115; *Kalendar* pp.113 and 143.

[399] C. Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages (1200-1500)', *Medieval Archaeology* vol. 30 (1986),19-45, p.35; R.M. Smith, 'Rooms, relations and residential arrangements: some evidence in Manor Court Rolls 1250-1500', *Medieval Village Research Group Annual Report 30*,(1982), pp.34-35.

[400] See Chapter 1.

[401] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Living*, p.157.

[402]Samson, *Kalendar*, pp.93, 108, 110, 114; Charter 95, pp.132; Charter 90, p.128.

[403] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.173; G.Astill and A.Grant,eds. The *Countryside of Medieval England*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988. p.84.

and brew house. For other manors, for instance those managed by the sacrist or by the cellarer, the phrasing is *'reddendorum sacristei nostre*' or *'annuatim unam firmam cel [er]ario'* indicating that the rents and other dues would be paid at the Abbey. It is likely therefore that there was no main hall on these estates.
On the abbots' demesne manors, such as Redgrave and Worlingworth, where they and their servants and guests are known to have stayed there is more detailed documentary evidence. This is complemented by extensive documentary evidence about the complex of manorial buildings at Cuxham in Oxfordshire and the manor of Chingford belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral built in a similar time-frame (mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century). There it is recorded that there was 'a handsome hall ceiled with oak', as well as rooms for servants, a buttery, pantry, chapel, kitchen and granary, stable, barns for storing wheat and other cereals and a pig-sty.[404]

Redgrave

The commemoration of Abbot Samson on his death in 1211 refers to only one estate building: he built a hall on the manor at Redgrave. The manor was extensive, with 6 carucates of land, a church and a deer park.[405] It may be deduced that the manor was important to the Abbot and the Abbey, and it may well have been one of those which Jocelyn refers to when he talks of Samson creating parks where the Abbot could entertain important guests and watch the hounds giving chase.[406] There would certainly have been additional structures to supplement the hall, such as a lord's chamber, stables, guest rooms and services such as kitchens, dairy, bake-house and larder. This is similar to the structures documented on estates at Walton in Suffolk and Forncett in Norfolk, detailed in Chapter Three. The hall would also have been a place for collection of dues, as it was on manors with less extensive accommodation, and the estate would have included accommodation for the steward and servants.

Worlingworth

As at Redgrave, the buildings of the manor house complex at Worlingworth can be deduced from an extensive range of accounts, registers and extents preserved especially from 1302 until the Reformation.[407] From these records the buildings appear to be very similar to those at Redgrave — a hall with a buttery at one end and a principal lord's chamber with a garderobe and a passage leading to the

[404] Manorial Source Book, Description of Manor House at Chingford, Essex, 1265, https//legacy.fordham, edu/halsall/source/Chingford.osp.
[405] See Appendix 2.
[406] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[407] Ridgard, 'Worlingworth', pp.113-115.

chapel. The latter, as at Redgrave, was equipped with 'deskes', was thatched and had windows. The hall was equipped with high table, side tables, trestles and benches and an alms table.[408] Other living accommodation included houses for the butler and janitor and chambers for the servants and bailiff, possibly in outbuildings. Service buildings, as well as the buttery, included a brewery, bakery, kitchen and bake-house. The farm buildings at the complex included a barn for each separate grain crop and different stables for different grades of horses including palfreys, cart horses and stotts. There is a quite specific reference to the fact that farm buildings were linked by gated walls to keep the living areas separate. This appears to be similar to the two courtyards at Rickinghall, another Bury manor, where remains of thirteenth-century buildings and an eleventh-century hall with a floor of hardened chalk were uncovered in 1964.[409] Items at Worlingworth not specifically referenced at Redgrave included a kiln for malt brewing, an apple orchard, kennels and a hawk mews. These last two underline that the manor was used for hunting by the Abbot and his guests.[410]

Complexes on other estates

Looking at comparable accounts for Cuxham, a manor managed by Merton College, Oxford, and an account of the manor house at Chingford, Essex, in 1265 written for the Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, there is a close match with the buildings at Redgrave and Worlingworth. There are no detailed plans, but probable layouts based on the documented details for Cuxham have been reconstructed (see Figure 1.10).[411] The major domestic buildings at Cuxham were the hall, the lord's room, the garderobe and the kitchen with an adjoining room and bake-house. The lord's room was built of stone over the dairy and cellar, while the hall was timber-framed with walls of wattle and daub. There was a substantial stone solar with service rooms below.[412] These structures were set round a courtyard and a conjectural layout of the whole complex was drawn by Harvey in 1965.[413] As at Redgrave, there were two wheat barns, an oat barn, an old granary that was now a poultry house, houses for hay and straw, stables, a pig sty and a dovecote.
It is known that the Abbots of Bury liked to entertain at Redgrave, where there was a park with deer for hunting and hawking (the accounts refer to a sparrow-hawk nest and a polecat trap to protect pheasants). That aside, the Worlingworth structures are similar to those at Redgrave. In effect, the domestic buildings on

[408] Ibid., quoting Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich) S1/2/9.7 (1326-7).
[409] 'Medieval Britain in 1964' in *Medieval Archaeology VIII* (1964), p.35.
[410] Ridgard, 'Worlingworth', Chapter 12.
[411] Hallam, *Agrarian History* vol. 2, p.860.
[412] Ibid., p.859.
[413] P.D.A Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham 1240-1400*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965) p.33 (Figure 1.10).

estates at this period conformed to a historic structure and were arranged in a traditional linear way that reflected the practical requirements of the manor. Halls and domestic complexes were also built for merchants and the wealthier inhabitants of both small and medium towns. These, together with the economic significance of Bury St. Edmunds town are explored in the next section.

The town of Bury St. Edmunds

Bury St. Edmunds exhibited features that characterised the towns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It grew from nearby village markets, was primarily a trading and manufacturing centre with a variety of largely non-agricultural occupations, had a market-place and a good network of road and river connections with its surrounding area. The Abbey was important to the town as an employer and a generator of pilgrims and other visitors, but serving the local countryside was its bread and butter. The physical characteristics of Bury are, so far as can be deduced, equally typical, in that it had lines of buildings facing the street, the centre was closely packed with merchant buildings and shops, including vaults and undercrofts, and there is some documentary evidence of tenements for the poorer inhabitants. Architecturally, extant remains of medieval houses, evidence from excavations and quite extensive documentary records have all facilitated research into the impact on the streetscape of economic development and the requirements of urban living and buildings. The evidence also allowed comparison between the design of houses and use of land in the town and in the surrounding countryside, in particular to see how commercial requirements were reflected in urban house design. Although comparisons have been made in other towns, they have not been made before regarding the design of Bury merchant houses and their rural counterparts.[414]

Early history

Originally called Beodricksworth, the town developed by the Abbots of St. Edmunds was already established in the middle of the eleventh century, with the shrine of St. Edmund and a church to serve the shrine. It was sufficiently important to be granted a mint in 1065. The name of St. Edmundsbury was first used in the charter that established this mint.[415] From information in the *Domesday Book* it can be estimated that there were at least 472 individual heads of households in the

[414] J. Grenville 'Urban and rural households in the late Middle Ages: a case study from Yorkshire' in M. Kowalski and J.P. Goldberg, eds., *Medieval Domesticity Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.91-123.

[415] Eaglen 'The Mint at Bury St. Edmunds', 111-121; H.R. Marsh, ed., *Bury St. Edmunds Official Guide* (Bury St. Edmunds: Borough Council, 1973), p.11.

town.[416] On the assumption that each had family members, usually calculated as 4 or 5, this would indicate that the town in 1086 had a population of some 2360.[417] This number would increase significantly, to nearer 4000, if non-taxpayers had been included.[418] From the first, Bury St. Edmund's had some urban characteristics, particularly trade links with an extensive hinterland and with regional commercial routes.

There is no evidence that the site of what became the town of Bury St. Edmunds was ever settled by the Romans.[419] However, there is evidence outside the town of extensive Anglo-Saxon settlements in the seventh century and after. Bury lies on the confluence of the rivers Lark and the Linnet, which facilitated both communication and transport of goods.This, together with its central position for attracting trade from surrounding areas, was probably the initial impetus for a settlement to develop. These connections are shown in Figure 2.14. It is also on the route from London to Norwich or Cambridge and the road to Ipswich passed through it. This underpinned its success as a market town and its suitability to host one of the great fairs of the time.[420] The importance of the location was recognised when, in the early seventh century, Sigbrercht, son of the first Saxon King of East Anglia, set up a missionary base there under direct royal patronage.

Economic development

An essential element of the town's economic development was the royal grant of a weekly market and two annual fairs. While the original dates of the grants, sought by the Abbey, are unclear, they were confirmed by charters of Henry I between 1133 and 1129.[421] The market enabled the town to establish itself as a centre for the sale of local produce and for products such as leather goods that were not available in the majority of villages. It attracted buyers and sellers from a wide area and supported the establishment of merchants, traders and those who served them such as carters and food sellers. There were large numbers of vendors of food and drink, since many of those who lived in the town or on its outskirts had little or no land and therefore needed to be able to buy provisions. The corn market, cheese market and Cooks Row are all listed as part of the great market near the Risby Gate

[416] *Suffolk Domesday Book*,14,167.

[417] Hallam, *Agrarian History* vol.2m p.46.

[418] The town grew steadily and by the end of the thirteenth century (records in the Bury rental of 1295) it is likely that the population had risen to some 5000 or more.

[419] M. Statham, 'The Medieval Town of Bury St. Edmunds', in *JBAA Conference Trans 20*, p.98.

[420] R.S. Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis: 1290-1539* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.194.

[421] *Feudal Documents*, p.73, Charters 42 and 43.

(Figure 2.15). This was also a place where artisans and petty traders could supply a range of relatively cheap and ordinary goods.[422]

The market officially traded on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday when stewards or bailiffs from nearby manors, as well as freemen and tenants from local villages, brought goods to market for sale and purchased for their own needs. In practice most of its goods and services were available at all times.[423] Market traders operated from stalls and a list of payments for stalls, probably from the early fourteenth century, has been preserved. There was a total of over 200, including 16 shoemakers, 19 drapers, 19 tanners, 31 butchers and 27 fishmongers.[424] This was therefore a very substantial market with a variety of trades and a high number of traders involved.

Partly because of the large number of pilgrims and wealthy visitors to the Abbey, the town also became a place where specialist craftsmen such as goldsmiths and armourers, bed and coverlet makers and booksellers could work, live and have shops, because the footfall was sufficient to enable them to make a living.[425] These specialists did not trade from stalls, but from shops either in rows or in the front of their houses. The names of some of Bury's medieval streets, such as Glovers Row and Hatter Street near the Abbey entrance, indicate that such craftsmen were established in specific quarters and traded from their houses there.[426]

The Bury market was also a supplier of cash for the inhabitants of surrounding village communities, enabling individuals to buy food and other necessities and pay rents, fines and taxes. This was of particular importance in Suffolk, since by 1295 some 71% of the unfree and 77% of free tenants were renting less than ten acres of land.[427] Given that between ten and fifteen acres were considered to be a minimum for a family for subsistence living, the capacity to earn by working in ancillary trades and to trade goods and services for cash was essential for their survival. [428] Equally, while domestic servants at the Abbey and on the manors would have much of their basic food and drink supplied as part of their wages, craftsmen and traders such as painters, potters, brewers and bakers needed cash to buy basic foodstuffs and supplies for their trade.[429]

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[422] Dyer, *Making a Living*, p.191.

[423] Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds*, p.30.

[424] M.D.Lobel, *The Borough of Bury St. Edmund's* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935 quoting *MS. Harl*, fols.215b-216b) p.48.

[425] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 129.

[426] This was common at the time, as explored in J. Grenville's *Medieval Housing*, pp.171-173, though extensive evidence has yet to be found. Streets are shown in Figure 2.15.

[427] Hallam, *Agrarian History* vol.2, p.606.

[428] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.112-116.

[429] Britnell, 'Proliferation of markets', p.215 Section V.

Annual fairs

Equally importantly, the annual fairs generated an international trade. This helped to establish the success and wealth of Bury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to continue its development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a wool town. The winter fair was the most important, beginning on the feast of St. Edmund (19th November) and lasting five weeks. It was one of the eight great seasonal fairs that brought together merchants from around England and the North Sea littoral. All but one of the others (Winchester) was also in eastern England.[430] Bury's winter fair was held outside the East Gate, just behind the eastern wall of the Abbey (Figure 2.15), at a time when very large numbers of pilgrims would be coming into the town for the St. Edmunds celebrations.[431] The other fair was a three-day event held in August by the Hospital of St. Saviours just outside the South Gate. The fairs drew merchants from a wide area, including London, Bruges, Ypres, Douai, and further afield in Italy and France. A number of court cases citing foreign merchants for debt collection are evidence of this trade, which was primarily for the purchase of wool and sales of cloth.[432]

The Abbey recognised the value of the market and fairs, taking steps to ensure that its income could be maximised. For instance, both sacrist and cellarer granted charters to lease land and buildings in the town with the proviso that they retained the right to let the house or rooms during the fairs when rents would be higher.[433] Another example is the sacrist leasing a toft with houses in Cordwainers Street, but retaining the right 'to let the houses nearest the road and the square (the market-place) during St. Edmund's fair'.[434] Then there is the incident quoted by Jocelyn where the Abbey's bailiff with six hundred well-armed men went to stop a market set up by the Abbey of Ely at Lakenheath. The bailiff 'threw down the poles of the meat market and tables of the market stalls' and he and his men confiscated the cattle, sheep and oxen.[435] Allowing for some exaggeration, there was obviously a determination to eliminate possible rival markets. It is easy to see why such action was taken given the financial value to the Abbey of rents, stalls, tolls, fines and other income. In the assessments of 1291, the taxable income from the town for the Abbey officials amounted to £124 2s, some 11% of the total assessment but representing some 65% of the sacrist's income. As this was a tax return, the real value was probably considerably higher.[436] Only the income from one individual manor, Mildenhall, assessed at £99.14s, was worth nearly as much to the Abbey as

[430] Bates and Liddiard, *East Anglia and its North Sea World*, p.177; the other fairs were at Boston, Stamford, King's Lynn, Northampton and St. Ives.
[431] The East Gate was close to the formal Abbey entrance, see Figure 2.15.
[432] Gransden, *History* Vol 2, pp. 179-80, citing *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1234-7.
[433] *Kalendar*, pp. 77-9, Charters 3, 5 and 6.
[434] Ibid., Charter 6.
[435] Jocelyn, *Chronicle*, p.118.
[436] See section above on Financing the Abbey.

the town. Protecting and enhancing its trade and economic viability was therefore of prime importance.[437]
Bury market was among the 54% of markets founded in Suffolk in the years before 1349 that survived into the sixteenth century. The reasons were complex, but included the fact that Bury was a long-established market with little local competition, that there was a degree of specialisation in wool and wool products which ensured the continued interest of wealthy merchants from a wide area, and that there was a significant population in east Suffolk on the Bury estates supplying and buying products. There was also, at least until the later fourteenth century and the advent of the Black Death, a ready supply of new immigrants to the town.[438]

The impact of the Abbey

The Abbey and St. Edmund's shrine were key elements in the development of the town in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Abbey generated employment, both in the town and on the manors it ran. In 1086, it employed 118 men to obtain and manage supplies for the 80 monks, and 75 other individuals were listed as serving the Abbot and monks daily.[439] While there is no specific mention of these monastic servants living in the town, in practical terms some will have lived in buildings in the Abbey precinct and many others would have lived in tenements in the nearby streets.
As semi-skilled service professionals, the majority of these people (brewers, washers, bakers, cooks and porters) would not have had even a small rented croft or toft to grow food for themselves and their families. They formed a core of the service, craft and trades workers who needed to be able to purchase their basic foodstuffs in the town, generating the activities that constituted a small town, attracting goods from local suppliers and those who provided services and non-agricultural goods for sale. In turn, their ability to earn a living, however precarious in poor years, attracted others from rural areas with little or no land who needed alternative employment to earn cash for food and rent.
As well as servants and traders, there were 30 priests, deacons and clerks and 13 reeves in charge of the Abbey's land. Many of these would have been housed in the town, at least some probably in the 342 houses built in the 20 years after 1066 on what had been arable land, though no location or detail of construction for these houses is mentioned in the *Domesday Book* or Abbey documents.[440] As importantly, the shrine and religious festivals generated very large numbers of pilgrims rich and poor, noble and destitute, and the Abbot was visited by kings and wealthy barons with their retinues. All of these would have required accommodation and food,

[437] *Bury Chronicle*, pp.104-113.
[438] Britnell, 'Proliferation of markets', pp.219-220.
[439] *Domesday Book*, *Suffolk Parts 1 and 2*, *pps*. 14 and167.
[440] Ibid.

further developing the town structure. The Abbey also financed five hospitals and ran a free school.

Despite many benefits, from the beginning of the thirteenth century the Abbey's approach to retaining control, insisting on the subservience of the merchants and exacting rents, fuelled discontent. This eventually led to the serious riots of 1327, when the townspeople broke down the great gate that led to the Abbey court, took the Abbot hostage and set up a new town administration.[441] This most serious riot followed many grievances, court cases and more minor rebellions, such as an attempt by younger merchants to seize control of the town in 1263, which was eventually ended by discussions and concessions from both sides. Incidents such as the Abbot flooding land in the town (in 1290) and the Abbey's continued refusal to grant more status to the merchants led to the 1327 riots. The town of Bury had less autonomy than most seigneurial boroughs and much less than that enjoyed by the majority of royal foundations.[442] The 1327 riots ended with agreement to a charter of rights, though this was later repudiated by the Abbey.[443] Bury was not incorporated until 1606.[444]

Town planning

Despite the growth of accommodation needed for servants, traders and visitors, Bury remained, as did many medium-sized towns in that period, strongly connected to the countryside and agriculture. Some two hundred years after the publication of the *Domesday Book,* the Bury town rental for 1295 reveals the continuing importance of food production within the town. On Eastgate Street there was a grange, a dovecote and a meadow, on Eastfield the cellarer held 19 acres of meadow, on Southgate Street the Almoner had six tenements with a garden and meadow, and on Risbygate Street the sacrist held four granges, each with a garden.[445] The town also had arable fields large enough to support over 2400 of the Abbey's sheep, in Friars Lane.[446]

Noticeable by their absence are the churches and chapels that are such a feature of other medieval towns such as Norwich and Colchester. In Colchester, a similar-sized town to Bury, there were at least seven churches within the walls (Chapter Four and Figure 4.20). In Bury, the two churches of St. James and St. Mary, together with the great Abbey church and its chapels were the main sacred buildings in the town within the walls. This is perhaps one example of the close control exercised by the

[441] Lobel, *The Borough of Bury St. Edmunds* pp.120-142.
[442] Palliser, *Cambridge Urban History vol. 1*, p.293.
[443] Lobel, *Borough of Bury St Edmunds*, p.141.
[444] Ibid., p.169.
[445] V.B. Redstone, 'St. Edmundsbury and Bury Town Rental for 1295', *PSIAH* vol. 13 Part 2 (1908). The map in Figure 2.15 shows these streets.
[446] M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.125.

Abbey through the sacrist, who was in effect lord of the borough and implemented the greater part of the Abbot's extensive rights in the town.[447]
Nevertheless, twelfth-century Bury is often quoted as an example of a well-planned grid structure town and this is usually attributed to Abbot Baldwin (1065-1095).[448] Recent studies have suggested that the town after *Domesday* is very probably an example of the use of Norman town planning techniques. These included the location of the church or castle on the main transverse axis, the use of market squares as focal points and possibly a layout based on the use of root 2. All these have been detected in Bury.[449] However, the grid must have been modified under Abbot Anselm (1121-1148) with the move and rebuilding of the two parish churches of St. Mary's and St. James to allow the new Abbey nave to be built, and the construction of the precinct wall. Figure 2.15 shows how the Abbey grounds extended into the grid of roads at Mustowe Street and along Pulters Row and Glovers Row to accommodate the new churches. The Abbey precinct formed the eastern limit of the main built-up area, with the old market to the south and the town developing to the north and west. The Abbey's extension reduced the size of the old market and, in part, led to the development of the Great Market to the west, near Risbygate, as a permanent place for the daily market and the construction of prominent merchant houses in the area such as Moyses Hall (shown to the east on Figure 2.15, near Risbygate).
Although this was relatively rare for a middle–sized town in England, Bury was walled. Abbot Anselm built the town walls and the five gates. The walls gave the town a cachet, as well as providing some protection against outlaws and robbers, but their main usefulness was to enable the bailiffs to collect tolls from merchants and traders by controlling entry to the town and its markets. To some extent the walls initially constrained the development of both housing and shops and the closely defined central area meant that, as in other walled towns such as Hereford, there was competition for space, especially in prime locations for trade.[450] There is as yet no evidence of multi-storey timber buildings being built or that extensive five storey structures such as the Spijker house in Ghent (Figure 1.11) were erected. Nevertheless, the need to optimise limited street frontage does appear to have been an influence on the design of buildings and land use.[451]

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[447] Lobel, *Borough of Bury St Edmunds*, p.31.
[448] B. Gauthiez, 'Planning of the Town of Bury St. Edmunds' *JBAA Conference Transactions* 20, 94-96; E. Fernie, 'Baldwin's Church and the Effects of the Conquest' in License, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp.89-90; Platt, *The English Medieval Town*, p. 33.
[449] B. Gauthiez, 'Planning of the town of Bury St. Edmunds', pp.94-96; Fernie, 'Baldwin's church', pp.89-90.
[450] Platt,*The English Medieval Town*, p.27.
[451] See later paragraphs on merchant houses.

Town buildings

Even after the Dissolution, Bury continued to thrive, with James I granting borough status in 1608 and reversion of tolls and market dues to the burgesses in 1614. This continued prosperity led to rebuilding, especially in the eighteenth century with a playhouse, a new coaching inn and many new Georgian houses constructed for the landed gentry.[452] This is the main reason why so few of the important medieval houses built near the Great Market and on Southgate and Northgate are still standing. Equally, there is only some archaeological evidence of the cellared structures, housing for the less well-off, the yards used for work and the areas kept for agriculture in what must have been a heavily built-up town centre in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Despite this rebuilding, there are some medieval houses, or remains of them, still standing in Bury. Archaeological excavations have been conducted as parts of the town were redeveloped and have yielded significant insights. In addition, Bury has documentary evidence from charters leasing land and buildings, tax listings such as the town rental for 1295 and other later taxation data. From these, some picture of the town's buildings can be constructed. However, any analysis of the buildings in the town needs to be underpinned with an estimate of population. As suggested earlier in this section, it is likely that there were some 5000 inhabitants in Bury at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. A lay subsidy assessment of 1327 listed 167 Bury taxpayers, who with their families represented some 20% of the population.[453] Of these, 30% had goods worth more than £5, which given the cost of house building meant that there were, possibly, some 50 merchants or traders who would in the early years of the century have had the means to build a stone house or at least a middle-status dwelling.[454]

Housing for the poor

As importantly, this tax assessment of 1327 implies that some 80% of households in Bury did not have sufficient wealth to be taxed. This means that most of the town's housing must have been rented by these less wealthy townspeople.[455] Looking at London, where much more is known of the type of housing available to the less well-off, rented space in most cases would have meant a timber-framed structure with one or two rooms at most and some working space behind or at the side of the dwelling.[456] In Bury, as an example, the town rental of 1295 lists in Southgate Street

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[452] Marsh, *Bury St. Edmunds Official Guide*, pp.19-20.

[453] Only heads of households featured as taxpayers. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, pp.128-9. Bailey caveats that 167 is probably a significant underestimate.

[454] See Chapter One.

[455] As a comparison, in Colchester some 50% of households in 1297 had goods worth less than 7 shillings – see Chapter Four.

[456] Schofield and Vince, *Medieval London Houses*, p.221

18 tenements held by Abbey officers and seven others, as well as the gardens and meadow, but no detail of these 25 buildings is given.[457] It is likely that each tenement would have been sufficient to house at least one family, with those further away from the centre housing two or more. This one street alone could therefore have housed some 300-400 people. This part of Southgate Street nearer the town gate was not one of the key market areas (see Figure 2.15), though the street itself led to the old market (Eld Market) at the junction with West Gate Street. To date, no remains of what is likely to have been timbered housing for the less wealthy have been found, though working areas have been discovered (see below).

Stone buildings

There is a growing body of evidence of stone buildings, especially on or near the markets. The prevalence of stone houses may also be inferred from a charter from Abbot Robert (1182-1200), which refers to a rent of 24 shillings to be obtained by renting a stone house in the market-place.[458] The ability to purchase stone from Barnack quarries, as was confirmed for the building of the Abbey, may also have influenced the materials used for the more substantial houses. While much of the evidence is archaeological, there are still parts of some twelfth- and early thirteenth-century stone buildings standing, such as 61-62 Whiting Street (Figure 2.18), though much altered over the centuries. There is also evidence that trading of goods that were not suitable or too valuable to be on a market stall (such as books or jewellery) went on from within houses, both legally in houses like Moyses Hall and illegally, for which the merchants were then arrested and sued.[459] The discovery of cellared vaults implies that there were a number of such houses.

Merchants' houses

Merchants' housing in Bury illustrates three different aspects of urban housing: designs where space was not at a premium, designs where it was, and the use of vaults and undercrofts.
On the outskirts, a house on Northgate Street, listed as part of the Bury Rental of 1295, which can be configured from its documentary evidence, shows that where commercial or space aspects were not critical, the design reflected that of complexes on rural estates.[460] It had two solars, two garderobes, a serving hall with a solar, a garden and a kitchen.

[457] Redstone, 'Town Rental', p.212.
[458] *Kalendar of Abbot Samson*, p.76, Charter 2.
[459] Lobel, *Borough of Bury*, p.51.
[460] Redstone, 'Town Rental', p.204.

On either side of the serving hall there was a small room with a garderobe and there was a brew house, poultry house and four cottages standing near the street enclosed within the grounds. This resembled the manor complexes on estates and occupied a much larger area than was available in the centre of the town. Unlike the merchants' houses in the central areas, it seems that this complex was not intended as a primary trading point. It closely resembles those built for the Abbey on their manors of Redgrave and Worlingworth.[461]

In the centre where space was at a premium the few remaining merchant buildings in the centre of Bury support the concept that while houses of wealthy merchants reflected their rural counterparts, with a central hall and separate chamber or solar as living accommodation, there is also evidence that parts of the houses, particularly cellars and ground floors, were used for trade.[462] A number of vaults discovered through archaeological excavations show how space was used for retail as well as living accommodation, though there is little evidence of firm dating.[463]

There are three merchant houses in the central part of Bury where some above-ground architectural evidence still exists. The most substantial is Moyses Hall, built c. 1180, apparently as a large dwelling-house of the hall-and-solar type. It has been significantly altered over the years and only the south and west walls are entirely Norman (Figures 1.12 and 1.13). Original features include a divided basement, which on the west side has a roughly semi-circular groined vault with three oblong bays and on the east two aisles divided by cylindrical piers so partitioning the area into six bays (Figure 2.17).[464] The elaborate structure of the basement indicates that it was used not only for storage but for merchandising, especially as Moyses Hall fronted directly onto the Great Market. It is possible that the ground floor may also originally have been used for sales and possibly storage of goods. Above this ground floor originally were the hall and solar; the hall retains two late Norman windows, but is much altered. This approach to ground floors and basements has been discovered on street frontages in other towns, such as Southampton and Winchester.[465]

The second house is at 48-49 Churchgate Street. The present building contains the remains of an aisled hall of the thirteenth century, with contemporary cross-wing. This was jettied on both sides to extend the space available to the householder. It is a very early example of this structure and is rarely found in rural buildings since

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[461] Details under Manorial Buildings.

[462] Developments in town houses to accommodate shops and storage are explored by P. A. Faulkner, among others, in his article on domestic vaults. Fig 2.16, copied from p.124 of this article, shows a range of house plans from Exeter and Southampton which reflect commercial requirements.

[463] These included 51-52 Churchgate Street and 98A - 100 Risbygate Street, reported by Sue Anderson and David Gill respectively in 'Archaeology in Suffolk' *PSIAH 1997* p.222.

[464] M.E. Wood, *Norman Domestic Architecture*, (London: Royal Archeological Journal Monographs, 1974, reprinted from 1935), pp.49-51.

[465] Platt,*English Medieval Town*, pp.59-60.

space is not at such a premium.A[466] The third building is at 61-3 Whiting Street (Figure 2.18). There, rooms are arranged along the street and the hall is set back to allow the jettied and gabled cross-wing to project forward towards the street line, both to provide additional space and enable the ground floor to be let for retail use.[467]

Vaults and undercrofts

One of the features of medieval urban housing, especially in town centres in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was the existence of vaults and undercrofts, built at basement, sub-basement and sometimes ground level.[468] Most evidence from the twelfth and thirteenth century in Bury is from excavations. Remains of vaulted cellars and undercrofts have consistently been found when excavations have been conducted before modern redevelopments were undertaken in the town centre. Examples include Churchgate, Eastgate and Whiting Streets.[469] At 51 Churchgate Street, excavations revealed three phases of cellared buildings close to the street front, with the earliest showing that there was a cellared building in the early mediaeval urban tradition. This was a chalk-edged pit c 1.8m deep and post holes showing that the building probably measured 3.6m from north to south. Large quantities of pottery dated abandonment to the twelfth or early thirteenth century.[470] In Eastgate Street, excavations revealed the remainder of a medieval house with its north wall on the road frontage. It was sufficiently well-preserved to allow identification of a south wall and that there were two partitions on the ground floor. The dimensions were established as some 13m x 4.5m for the house, with at least four rooms of which three had dimensions of 3.55m, 2.65m and 4,65m.[471] (Moyses Hall's ground and first floor had dimensions of some 12.9m x 14.1m). At 17 Whiting Street, parts were dated to the early medieval period. The structures remaining on land to the rear were interpreted as the remains of a cellar connected to the nearby Church Street property.[472]
Archaeological excavations in other cities including London, Southampton and Winchester, have consistently uncovered remains of vaults in city centres.[473] Though common in early Christian churches and still found in ecclesiastical buildings

[466] Pevsner, S*uffolk West*, p.157; A. Brodie, N. Fradgley, R. Boyles, 'Archaeology in Suffolk, Bury St. Edmunds, 48-49 Churchgate Street', *PSIAH* vol. 37 part 1 (1993).
[467] Quiney,*Town Houses of Medieval Britain*, pp.238-9.
[468] P.A. Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts and Town Houses' in M.J. Swanton, ed., *Studies in Medieval Domestic Architecture, Royal Archaeological Institute Monograph* (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1975), pp.118-133.
[469] 'Archaeology in Suffolk, Bury St. Edmunds', *PSIAH* 1997.
[470] Ibid, *PSIAH* Vol. XXXX part 2.
[471] Ibid, and *PSIAH* Vol. Xl, part 4.
[472] Tester, 'Archaeology in Suffolk', *PSIAH* part 4 (2012), p.513.
[473] Ibid.

in the twelfth century (Bury Abbey had a large crypt), vaults are rarely found in the countryside.[474]
Their function in town centre urban houses was to fully utilise the street frontage. Two different probable uses have been identified for these vaults, both of which have been found in many areas. One was that they were a way of providing valuable retail space on a major market route used by the tenants, whose living and working areas were behind or above the vaulted area. Moyses Hall is an example. The other was that they were let separately for use as a shop and storage areas, possibly on two levels. No specific reference has been found in Bury.
Though it is likely that the vaults and undercrofts were used for retail, the areas that were part of permanent buildings would probably also have combined the functions of stockrooms and even working areas, unlike the modern shop space with its counters. The counter function would have been performed by the stalls that were in the open market area and are still common in today's street markets. Though not clear from the excavated evidence from Bury, elsewhere, such as in Southampton and Chester, it seems that there may well have been two levels, with shallow shops above and larger shops below, the lower shop entered from the upper (see layouts in Figure 2.16).This would have been important for valuable trades such as the goldsmiths, where there would have been a need for security as well as opportunity to display.[475]

Back yards

As detailed in the 1295 Bury rentals, at least some of the houses of the wealthy had a garden and/or storage and possibly a working area at the rear, but other uses behind the street frontage have been found elsewhere. The use of the back areas for a range of activities is supported by excavations at the back of a medieval burgage plot at 40 Peckham Street. These have revealed a yard where cottage industries included tubs for working and storing lime putty, processing of horn and bone, multiple ovens for drying and baking grain and steeping pits and querns for malt grinding. At St. Mary's Square, numerous medieval pits and an oven were found, representing activity linked to houses fronting onto Southgate Street.[476]

The Guildhall

The merchant elite, made up of prosperous merchants and craftsmen, built the stone houses and also provided the town's aldermen. Within the rules of the Abbey, they controlled the social, economic and secular fortunes of the town.[477] However,

[474] Quiney, *Medieval Town Houses*, pp.143-5.
[475] Faulkner, 'Medieval Undercrofts', p.130.
[476] Redstone, 'Bury Town rental', *PSIAH* Vol. XLII part 4 and *PSIAH* Vol. XXXIX part 2.
[477] Gottfried, *Bury St. Edmunds*, p.165.

there was little control over buildings and with the major exception of the Guildhall, little evidence of a desire to enhance and improve the town. Civic pride tended to come to the fore mainly when the merchants wanted to challenge the authority of the Abbey or contest the taxes and fines imposed. In this they were quite unlike the cities of North Italy, such as Florence or Sienna, but in keeping with the majority of English towns. Even today, a town dweller, certainly in the South, is unlikely to boast proudly that they live in Milton Keynes or Hertford in the way that a Florentine will probably claim his city as his place of birth.[478]

Nevertheless, the Guildhall would have been important to the merchants as a place to feast together, celebrating their achievements. Today, it consists of a porch with ceremonial arch (Figure 2.19) which leads into a courtroom on one side and a banqueting room on the other, largely as they would have been in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Figure 2.20). The earliest references to the Guildhall are in 1279, when the hall was used for a legal judgement and was known to have been used as a meeting place for the townsmen to take the oath to maintain the town and its customs.[479] It must have been built much earlier than this, but there is no record of the first construction. A letter dated 1378 refers to the Guildhall having been built many years before at the expense of the townsmen 'for the election of the aldermen and or assessing ….taxes granted to the king'.[480] Major rebuilding took place in the second half of the fifteenth century, reflecting the prosperity of Bury as a major cloth producing town in East Anglia however, the Guildhall porch remains from the earlier building.[481] Constructed of flint and stone, its finely carved inner entrance arch has multiple and richly decorated roll mouldings, block capitals and columns strongly reminiscent of the arched entrance to the Norman tower at the ceremonial entrance of the Abbey church (Figure 2.1). Just as the Norman tower displayed the power and wealth of the Abbey, the civic arch is likely to have been intended as a statement of the wealth and aspirations of the merchants. The arch also resembles the arched entrance to Colchester Guildhall (Figure 4.15: dated to the fourteenth century) which in turn echoes the decoration of St. Botolph's Priory (Figure 4.16: dated to the twelfth century). In both cases, the town was emulating the church. In Bury St. Edmunds, the Guildhall arch and the Norman tower are the only remaining decorative Romanesque architecture from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

While it is true that most of the well-known cities in Europe were many times larger than the English towns, were often city states and their great merchants richer, the architectural expression of civic pride that saw the authorities in Sienna control the height and design of buildings facing the Campo, and support the decoration of the town hall with brilliant frescoes, was not generally evident in English medieval towns. The great palaces of Renaissance Florence in no small part emerged as a

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[478] Goldthwaite, *Renaissance Florence*, pp.69, 73, 74.

[479] M. Statham, 'The Guildhall, Bury St. Edmunds', *PSIAH* vol. 3I, part 2 (1969), 117-18.

[480] Lobel, *Borough of Bury St Edmunds*, p.78, refers to P.R.O Close roll, no.218, m.10.

[481] Statham, '*Medieval Town of Bury St Edmunds*', p.120.

result of the territorial state which marked Florence as a major power.[482] The Florentine building activity was 'above all, a taste for architecture, a desire to give these buildings a certain physical presence'.[483] Despite examples such as the Bury Guildhall, it seems that none of the English burghers, except a very few of the great lords and bishops who built residences in London, even thought in these terms about buildings in towns. The earls and dukes built their stone castles such as those at Clare and Framlingham in villages and the countryside near their vast estates, as their visible expression of wealth.[484] Merchants seem to have been more concerned with money, trade and ensuring that their charitable obligations were fulfilled, rather than making the town beautiful. Not until the great merchants of the nineteenth century would the profits of trade be used to adorn an English city such as Manchester with great civic buildings like the Town Hall, the Central Library, the Magistrates Court and The Free Trade Hall, all built in the 1850s in a grand classical style.

Some conclusions

The architecture of the Abbey of Bury St, Edmunds was typical of post-Conquest ecclesiastical buildings with its great size, tripartite nave, chapels, towers and ambulatory. It had much in common with contemporary church buildings in England such as the cathedrals of Ely and Norwich. However, the design of the western façade is unique and the Norman Gate Tower was probably the first of its kind to mark the entrance to an ecclesiastical building. Though there are possible traces of an Anglo-Saxon tradition in the decorative motifs on the Gate Tower and in the church, it was quintessentially a Norman structure embodying temporal as well as spiritual authority.

Building such a structure involved costs that used up a significant proportion of the Abbey's annual income. Strategies to fund these costs included additional land rents, indulgences and commercial approaches to estate management and the town of Bury. Indulgences were integrally linked to encouraging pilgrimage and gifts. Despite such measures, financial difficulties continued at the Abbey and were almost certainly why it took over 100 years to complete the Abbey church.

The buildings on the Abbey's estates, contrasting with the innovative design of the Abbey, reflected pre-Conquest traditions. Manorial complexes such as Worlingworth, where the Abbot and his guests stayed, had at their heart an Anglo-Saxon hall with central fireplace. Service and other buildings such as a guest house and stables, stewards' chamber, chapel and storage were clustered round a courtyard that was fenced or walled to keep out both thieves and animals. Many of the complexes acted as administrative centres for the estates and residences for

[482] Goldthwaite, *Florence*, p.70.
[483]Ibid., p.68.
[484] See Chapter Three.

stewards. The structures were linear and largely of one storey, though occasionally a chamber for a lord would be built above a store, entered by an external staircase and not connected to hall or chapel.

So far as the evidence of leases and chronicles has revealed, there seems to have been a focus on the practical in layout and design, with little or no attempt to make the buildings elaborate.[485] Written evidence in leases and accounts shows that manorial buildings were both constructed and repaired from funds generated by the manor itself.

However, income from estates was crucial to the economy of the Abbey. The studies of individual manors show that estate managers were accustomed to work with market intelligence to match seeding and weeding density to output, in order to optimise profit rather than aiming for optimal yield. There was also evidence of strategies such as eliminating fallow, keeping the land in good heart by regular manuring, ensuring that less fertile land was not over-cropped, and tenants not being compelled to over produce. The achievement of growth in profit despite retaining the food farm system demonstrates that, far from being conservative, the monks adopted many of the technological improvements that characterised the best estates in east Norfolk.[486] Thirteenth-century accounts detailing instructions to replenish stocks, record yields and maintain farm buildings also suggest thoughtful estate management. The need for income to build, as well as to maintain the monks, their guests, hospitals and services to the poor, was clearly shown by Abbot Samson's actions, recorded by Jocelyn in his *Chronicle.* Despite the innovations and control implicit in the monks' estate management, there is little recorded evidence of rebellion or unrest among the Abbey's many tenants and villeins. However, there are indications that on some of the estates there was growing opposition to the continued imposition of fines for omissions of service obligations, and strict requirement of tenant obligations. This continued until the major changes forced on most landlords by the population changes after the 1349 plague. Even stronger opposition to the Abbey's approach developed in the town.

The Abbey's approach to developing the town of Bury to optimise income was typical of the attitudes of many ecclesiastical institutions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Abbey helped the town to prosper both directly and indirectly. Directly, the Abbey obtained a market charter and a charter for two fairs that made a major contribution to the town's prosperity. It also defended the market by attacking any attempt to start a new market that could threaten Bury's dominance in the area. The Abbey financed the building of a school and hospitals at each of the five gates and built houses both within its walls and outside. Even so, there was conflict between the Abbey and the town which resulted in significant riots in 1327. The disputes were eventually resolved and damages repaired; despite acrimony and plague, the town's population and prosperity steadily increased.

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[485]This simpler approach also characterises the estate buildings of lords and hunting lodges of the kings. See Chapters Three and Four.

[486] See Chapter Three.

Indirectly, prosperity increased because the Abbey with its shrine attracted many pilgrims both rich and poor and the Abbey's visitors included kings with their retinues, enhancing the potential for the more expensive traders such as goldsmiths and booksellers. At the same time, the Abbey generated employment for both specialists and service industries, providing opportunities for non-agricultural occupations to be established. Given that the income from the town represented some 11% of the Abbey's income in 1295, the encouragement it gave is not surprising. It is rare for the development of a town to be so clearly attributable to one source. For instance, while the Bishop of Norwich acquired a charter for Bishop's Lynn when approached by traders, so encouraging the development of a thriving port, there is no evidence that after that initial boost the town's development was dependent on the bishopric.

Although initial prosperity was fostered by the Abbey, it was the merchants who built the town. Documents, archaeological evidence and remaining medieval structures in Bury town show that, in common with contemporary towns such as Southampton and Oxford, the design of Bury merchant houses reflected those of their rural counterparts but also commercial requirements. In the richer houses, such as Moyses Hall, a central hall was present but it was on the first floor, over a ground floor given to merchandising and storage. The discovery of a number of vaults and undercrofts on central streets reflects the preference for economic use of market fronting space, while away from the central streets the house design of rich merchants closely followed that of landlords in the country. There is evidence of the aspiration of the wealthier merchants in the building and the decoration of the Guildhall built.

In country and town alike, wealth was the key to architectural development. In the country, acquiring land or, in the Abbey's case, managing it, led to sufficient income to build an estate complex. For the more successful merchants, trading enabled them to build complexes which could rival the wealthier homes of landlords in the country. For the Abbey, only its significant wealth arising from the estates enabled it to construct the great Abbey building with its innovative architecture and the brilliant shrine for St. Edmund's relics. Such conspicuous consumption by the monks would be justified only with reference to the requirement to house St. Edmund's relics and by the belief that building such churches was a manifestation in stone of Christian devotion.

CHAPTER THREE –

THE BIGOD EARLS OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK

The previous chapter has suggested that the reasons why the Abbots of Bury St. Edmunds built their great church in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries were a mixture of piety, practicality and institutional pride. This chapter turns to the buildings and estates owned and managed by the Bigods, Earls of Suffolk and Norfolk, from the Conquest until 1306 when the last Bigod died. In the buildings of the Bigods, ambition, pride and a desire to demonstrate success can also be seen, as well as practical concerns. There are also similarities in their approach to estate management, although the Bigods' financial management was better than that of the Abbey, not least because they had closer control over expenditure through their stewards. There was a major difference in their approach to town development. The Abbey of St. Edmunds had a long history as a pre-eminent ecclesiastical institution in East Anglia. This, together with the perceived need to develop an appropriate setting for the tomb of St Edmund, could be said to justify the money and time spent on the construction of the splendid new church. The Bigods had no such history to celebrate and no position to maintain, yet their castles were large and well-designed stone structures, dominating the local countryside as the Abbey dominated the town. Their ambition seems to have been to emulate their peers and establish themselves as members of the ruling aristocracy.

For many reasons, the Bigod family was a natural choice as an example when comparing architectural and economic development on an earl's estates with ecclesiastical and royal estates. They built the family fortunes from £450 a year in circa 1100 to £4000 a year estimated by the king's commissioners in 1306.[487] Their castle at Framlingham is the most complete castle building still standing in Suffolk other than royal castles. Their estates are for the most part in Suffolk and Norfolk and their history is typical of Norman knights profiting from the Conquest. Judith Green stated in her book on the aristocracy of Norman England that 'one of the greatest success stories of the Conquest was that of Roger Bigod'.[488]

The Bigods were prolific builders. As well as castles they funded the building of large manor complexes to manage their estates and to provide additional residences for the family and they were involved in support for religious institutions, financing the foundation of monasteries and convents. While they did not support the great

[487] C.W. Hollister, *Henry* I (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p.130; Morrris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, p.149.

[488] J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.8.

monastic landowners of Bury and Ely who already had extensive estates in Suffolk and Norfolk, they did contribute to the development of other existing and new foundations.[489] As an example, towards the end of his life, the first Roger endowed a Cluniac priory in Thetford on the banks of the River Waveney, which became one of the most influential priories in England.[490] Roger's motives were complex. In the religious tradition of the time, good works and making arrangement for masses to be said for the departed were encouraged in order to ease the passage of the soul through Purgatory. Gifts of land and money to build or expand chapels, shrines and convents were a feature of the Norman aristocracy, including the King.[491] Financing a religious foundation was one of the distinguishing marks of the great lords of the land and was as much a part of the aristocratic scene as building a caput.[492] In their concern for their souls at their death, the Bigods were therefore typical of their time and class.

The foundation of new priories and monasteries had another, arguably unplanned, effect: it led to a more integrated society.[493] Pious investment helped to develop close ties between the new Norman landowners and their English lands and tenants. Together with intermarriage, often to acquire more land, it was an important element in the integration of Normans into their adopted society. A typical example of this integration was the grants of land made by Maud Marshal, who married first William de Warenne and then Hugh II Bigod. She used her manor of Bosham in England to provide for one son, her Irish manor of St. Mullins for another and a third, Ballycrinnigan, also in Ireland, 'to provide for her soul' by granting it to the Abbey of Tintern Parva.[494] The growing importance of England to the new lords was also demonstrated by the number of major earls choosing to be buried in England. Of the nine earls assessed in 1086 as the richest in England, six chose to be buried in English abbeys, including William de Warenne at Lewes, Alan Niger at Bury St. Edmunds and Hugh d'Avranches at Chester. Given the importance of burial for the family and for the soul of the departed, this was a major statement of commitment.[495]

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[489] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, Appendix E. Gifts of land and money were made to the priories of Felixstowe, Colne and Hickling and to abbeys including Reading, Leicester and Tintern.

[490] *Victoria County History of Norfolk* ,W. Page, ed., (Folkestone: W. Dawson & Sons Ltd., 1975), pp.363-4.

[491] For instance, William founded Battle Abbey soon after 1070 as a penance and to commemorate his victory. Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 102.

[492] The Bigods' neighbours, the Clares, founded a new priory in the town of Clare and the Warennes financed a magnificent abbey on their land at Castle Acre.

[493] E. Cowrie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press,1998), p.187.

[494] Morris,*The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, p.39.

[495] Cowrie, *Religious Patronage*, p.202.

Building an earldom

The development of the wealth of the Bigods, their castle building and their involvement in politics have been charted in some detail by M. Morris, A. Wareham and R. A.Brown among others.[496] The next sections draw on their research. In order to be able to create and maintain an earldom and to build castles and residences, the Bigods had to generate and sustain wealth. When the first Roger was appointed as one of seven Normans to manage the King's estates in East Anglia, he significantly increased the income from them, generating additional wealth both for himself and the King.[497] The family obtained more estates and lucrative positions from monarchs, often following one of the rebellions in the turbulent years after the death of William the Conqueror.[498] By creating alliances through marriage, they accrued yet more lands and status and, in the thirteenth century, married into the family of the Earl Marshal, one of the richest lords in the land.

They were not always successful. The first Roger Bigod rose from relatively lowly origins, having a modest amount of land in Normandy and none in England, to become one of the 20 wealthiest barons in Anglo-Norman England.[499] However, his heir Hugh, although initially continuing this success, lost his castles and prestige as a result of supporting the barons against King Henry II. After Hugh died and Richard I became King, their status was reaffirmed, their wealth re-established and their land restored, though they did have to pay a large fine to the King for this restoration. The line failed in 1306.

Before this, as the *nouveau riche* of medieval times, they had established their status by building three castles, one at Bungay, one at Walton and a third at Framlingham, where they could entertain their peers in the style that they would expect and appreciate (see Figure 3.1).

Establishing their credentials

The costs of constructing a castle varied with size and complexity but would have been a minimum of £350.[500] The costs of maintaining a castle varied from £12 to £50 per year for repairs, depending on the level of permanent staff.[501] Taken

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[496] Wareham, *Lords and Communities*, p. 143. R. A. Brown, 'Framlingham Castle and Bigod 1154-1216', *PSIAH* vol. 25, Part 2, 127-142; A. Wareham, 'The Motives and Politics of the Bigod Family c.1066-1177', *Anglo-Norman Studies 17* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp.223-247.

[497] Wareham, *Lords and Communities*, p.143.Wareham defines East Anglia as Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire; Map 1, p.xvii.

[498] For instance, Hugh Bigod was granted Bungay town and manor in the early twelfth century by Henry I.

[499]Wareham, *Lords and Communities*, pp.139-141.

[500] S. Painter, *Studies in The English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943), pp.172-3.

[501] Pounds, *Medieval Castles*, p.139.

together, these costs led Pounds to suggest that only some 35% of baronies would have sufficient annual income to be able to afford a castle. The result was that the majority of barons built defended manor houses and the building of a castle became the outward visible sign of a man of significant income.[502]
There were existing structures on each of the three castle sites, and the Bigods either extended these or extensively rebuilt them, reflecting contemporary preoccupations, designs and concepts. The Bigods' first stone castle was at Bungay (Figure 3.2). The castle at Walton has now completely disappeared, but there is some documentary evidence that Hugh Bigod built a tower inside an existing Roman fortification. In the late twelfth century Hugh's son, the second Roger Bigod, replaced the timber buildings at Framlingham and constructed a new-style curtain wall castle in stone.[503] As we shall see, the design, destruction and rebuilding of the Bigods' Suffolk castles and their environments was closely linked with their ambitions, but also with the baronial rebellions in the turbulent years before and after the accession of Henry II in 1154.

Laying the foundations

The first Roger (died 1207) laid the foundations of the family fortunes. Recorded evidence shows that before 1066 his family ancestors held some land in Normandy from Odo of Bayeux.[504] However, the family did not possess great estates and Roger Bigod gave his allegiance to William and to England, being appointed as one of seven royal officials managing the royal demesne in East Anglia. He was then appointed as Sheriff of Norfolk in 1069 and held the post until 1087. William Rufus initially gave the position of Sheriff to one of his stewards named Godric, but restored it to Roger in 1092. In the same year, he also appointed Roger as a royal steward. Both appointments were continued by Henry I on his accession in 1100. This confirmed Roger as a major player in the aristocracy. As Orderic Vitalis observed, it allowed Roger Bigod to enjoy 'wealth, lineage, eloquence and the smile of kings'.[505]
At the turn of the century, Roger's wealth from demesne farmland on his estates, augmented by his income as Sheriff, was £450 per annum.[506] The significance of this level of income is that it enabled Roger to give his daughters dowries (perhaps some £30 each) to help in making the worthwhile marriages that would bring in more land and enhance the family's reputation. He would also have had additional income each time the king called for a feudal levy. The Earls would have collected

[502] Ibid., p.66.
[503] Figure 3.3 shows an English Heritage reconstruction of the appearance of Framlingham Castle walls. Figure 3.13 shows the Castle walls today.
[504] C. T. Clay, D. Douglas and C. Loyd, eds., *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Leeds: Harlean Society ciii, 1951), p.14.
[505] Orderic Vitalis, p.146.
[506] Hollister, *Henry I*, p.330.

20 shillings for each of their 162 knightly tenants. Of the total £162, they sent the king £60 for the 60 knight tenants they admitted to and kept the remaining £102.[507]

Building a caput

An aristocratic residence or 'caput' was already one of the features of aristocratic status, demonstrating wealth and both the wish and capacity to entertain. In Suffolk, by 1086 William Mallet had built a castle at Eye, and by the 1090s other peers, Fitzgilbert and Hugh de Montfort, had established theirs at Clare and Haughley respectively. Though this was soon after the Conquest, the role of these caputs in providing a defended place for living was also linked with influence and wealth.[508] Yet the first Roger did not start to establish a caput until early in the twelfth century, just a few years before his death in 1107.
Roger had held the manor of Framlingham, valued at just under £36 in 1086 as a sub-tenant of the Earl of Chester, but around 1100 the tenure was changed so that he held directly from the king.[509] This tenure guaranteed that any conflict or problem could be raised in the royal courts or by an appeal to the king. Soon after this, Roger must have felt that his sources of wealth were secure, as he began to build at Framlingham.
Several reasons have been advanced for Roger Bigod's delay in building an extensive defended residence as a caput. It is likely that insufficient security of land and income was the primary cause. This is possibly a rare instance when potential, rather than actual, shortage of cash had an impact on building.[510] Another reason advanced is that, for the many years when Roger was Sheriff of Norfolk, he and his family were able to use Norwich castle as their residence. As this castle has been described as a palatial fortress as well as a governmental centre on a well-defended site, it seems possible that the Bigods were content to stay there.[511] A third theory is that, as a result of alliances Roger's holdings were scattered and establishing a single caput was therefore challenging both in terms of landscaping and supply of food and services.[512] However, the estates of most of the great nobles were scattered over many shires but they established caputs quite early, making this a rather unlikely reason for delay. The most likely reason, therefore, is that after

[507] Ibid., pp.125-127. This levy, known as scutage, was a relic from the early days of the Conquest, which obliged landholders to send knights to fight for the king or levy their knight tenants for cash to be paid to the king in substitution for services.
[508] D. Dymond and E Martin, eds., *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk* (Ipswich: Suffolk County Council,1999 3rd. edition), p.58.
[509] *Domesday Book*, Suffolk4.42; Wareham, *Lords and Communities*, p. 150; Raby and Reynolds, *Framlingham Castle*, (London: HMSO, 1959), p.8.
[510] For instance, the delayed completion of the west facade of St. Edmund's Abbey reflected an actual shortage of cash: see Chapter 2.
[511] Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep*, pp.6-7.
[512] Wareham, *Lords and Communities*, p.150.

becoming steward to William II and then Henry I, Roger was no longer dependent on being Sheriff of Norfolk for a significant part of his income and had secure tenancy of his lands.[513] At least two manorial complexes had already been established: one at Walton, providing a central point for the Bigod estates in south Suffolk, and the other at Forncett St. Mary for the Bigods' extensive holdings in Norfolk. When Roger began to build, he established a seigniorial complex which also had the capacity to manage the extensive Framlingham area holdings.[514]

The second Bigod, Hugh: success and failure

After the first Roger died in 1107, he was succeeded by his son William, but William was lost at sea in 1120. The succession then went to Roger's second son Hugh. He became the first Earl of Norfolk, but his long career was marked by rebellion until his death in 1176 or 1177.[515] During the anarchy, when Stephen and Matilda were fighting over who was to rule England and many barons changed their allegiance, Hugh first supported Stephen but then, in 1140, rebelled to support Matilda.[516] Stephen tried to satisfy Hugh's ambitions and regain his support by creating him Earl of Norfolk; he also granted Hugh many new manors and the town and castle of Bungay. Despite this, Hugh changed sides several times over the next few years but eventually did support Henry II on his accession in 1154. However, only three years later Hugh joined the baronial rebellion in the eastern counties against the King. In 1157, Henry was determined to achieve victory over the rebellious barons and probably confiscated all Hugh's castles. The evidence for this confiscation is in a statement copied by Matthew Paris under the year 1157: '*Hugo Bigotus castella sua regi reddidit'* supplemented by a reference to payment of £16 18s to the king's soldiers for destroying the defences at at Framlingham.[517]
However, the interpretation that there was a confiscation has been challenged by Andrew Wareham. He has suggested that the usual term for confiscation was *forescavit* or *exhedere* and *obsidere* and that *'*Bigod was recognising that …all castles were at the King's disposal'.[518] In effect, therefore, the Bigod castles would not have been considered to have been confiscated. Whether or not the King confiscated the castles did not apparently affect Hugh's ability, or the King's

[513] Wareham, 'The Motives and Politics of the Bigod Family', p.125.

[514] Covered in the sections on Bigod estates.

[515] Raby and Reynolds, *Framlingham Castle*, p.8.

[516] The 'anarchy' – the war between Stephen and Matilda with barons changing sides quite frequently – lasted for the majority of Stephen's reign (1135-1154) until his death, when Matilda's son Henry II became king.

[517] *Chronica Majorum Matthew Paris*, ed. H R Luard (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1883)
p.214, 'Hugh Bigod surrendered his castles to the king'; Quoted in Brown, 'Framlingham Castle and Bigod'p.130; *Pipe Roll 4* Henry II, 125, 1157-5.

[518] Wareham, 'Motives and politics', p.238.

willingness, to allow him to rebuild.[519] The main focus of his building activity was at Bungay, which he clearly valued as a potential stronghold. He constructed an impressive stone tower protected by stone ramparts. In 1173 there was yet another baronial rebellion, this time led by the Earl of Leicester with Flemish troops. As Henry had hoped, after Hugh Bigod at first joined the rebels he saw that there was more advantage in being on the King's side and defected to the King, who won the day. However, just one year later, in 1174, Hugh turned again and led a new army of Flemings who had landed on the East Coast, eventually retreating to his castle at Bungay on the approach of the King and his army. Hugh surrendered to the King and there is no doubt that this time his castles were confiscated. There is evidence that Hugh paid at least 1000 marks to the King avoid the destruction of Bungay and it seems likely that that this cash helped to finance the King's new castle at Orford.[520]

The reasons for Hugh's changes in allegiance and the final rebellion where he lost his castles are obscure, especially as the King had sought and rewarded his support. However, Andrew Wareham has put forward a theory that in the days of anarchy and in the controversy which surrounded the accession of both Henry I and Henry II, barons rebelled to ensure that disputes over control of royal wealth were settled in their favour.[521] Loyalty was given to a new king when the disputes were resolved and land and property restored, sometimes lawfully and sometimes by violence. This theory is supported, at least partially, by the Bigods' history. Their history shows that involvement in the civil wars of succession, even on the losing side, was often followed by benefits.[522] Hugh's first rebellion in the mid-twelfth century did not prevent his construction of the castle at Bungay following extensive grants of land, although the King did not forgive or forget the second rebellion.

The third and fourth Roger Bigod

The castles of Framlingham and Bungay and the title of Earl of Norfolk were only returned to the Bigods in 1189, on payment of another fine of 1000 marks.[523] It was the third Roger who built the curtain wall castle at Framlingham that is largely still standing today (Figures 3.3 and 3.14). In the late thirteenth century, the fourth Roger built a magnificent hall, kitchen and private chambers with a hall in the

[519] At Walton, the Pipe Rolls show that this castle was retained by the King and that a royal garrison was maintained there: *Pipe Roll* 19 Henry II pp.43, 30, 117, 151 references to 'Militibus de Walleton'.

[520] Wareham, 'Motives and Politics of the Bigod Family',p.239; Goodall, *English Castles*, p198.

[521] Wareham, ibid, pp.223-242.

[522] For instance, Framlingham was recovered twice, once in the late twelfth century with a large fine, and again from Edward after resisting King John.

[523] Brown, 'Framlingham Castle and Bigod (p.139); Pipe Roll Richard I, p.101.

gatehouse at Chepstow.[524] He also refused to support his King's wars and, rather than be penalised, he agreed that the King would be able to dispose of his estates if he died childless.

The design and function of twelfth-century castles

Some of the controversies surrounding Norman castle building are analysed in Chapter One. This section explores how designs changed and functions were extended in the twelfth century. There were at least three design changes: castles with curtain walls, central towers and internal design developments.[525]
The functions of most castles were extended. As well as a defensive structure which was also a demonstration of power, the castle became an administrative centre, was often the location for the manor courts and was developed as a place where the aristocracy could be entertained, enjoy magnificent feasts and indulge in their favourite sport of hunting in the surrounding parks and woodlands.
These extended functions contrast with the timber motte and bailey castles built during and in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest. These were primarily used by the invading army to control the surrounding areas and provide a safe place to stay.[526]

Ceremonial functions – the great tower

For the next two hundred years, many replacement and new castles were built in stone and most were characterised by their great towers, often over 25 metres high but relatively narrow. These dominated both the site and the surrounding area to a greater degree than most of the early watchtowers built at the top of mottes. Examples include the royal castles of Scarborough and Porchester and baronial castles such as Castle Hedingham and Richmond. Goodall described them as a condensed version of the outer bailey, a turreted wall reared up and drawn tight into a coherent architectural entity.[527] Yet the evidence that remains of interiors of great towers and the evidence of major residential buildings in the baileys argue against this view. Instead, the primary purpose of the towers seems to have been closer to the *donjon* of the early European castles: to dominate the landscape and become closely associated with concepts of justice, lordship and authority. They provided highly visible evidence of power, rather than being primarily a defensive stronghold.[528] Pounds described the tower as a large free-standing keep and its associated *castellum* as the bailey that surrounded it, and without which it could

[524] Pounds, *The Medieval Castle*, p.141.
[525] Heslop,' Orford Castle', pp.273-296.
[526] Pounds, *Medieval Castles*, p.9.
[527] Ibid., p.130.
[528] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, p.12.

not be permanently inhabited.[529] As late as the fourteenth century, Chaucer recognised these distinctive elements:

> Bothe the castel and the tour
> And eke the halle and every bour [530]

However, the term 'keep' — meaning stronghold or refuge — is often used synonymously with the description of these buildings as great towers, and has been used to refer to any number of large rectangular or round towers for at least four hundred years.[531] Equating keeps with great towers has confused discussions of their function. The available evidence, for example at Orford (Figure 3.4) and Castle Hedingham (Figure 3.5), shows that most great towers were ideal for providing an impressive ceremonial space for the lord to welcome and entertain guests but were not really large enough to provide areas that enabled people to conduct their daily lives, such as chambers for visitors, spaces for servants and soldiers, kitchens, baking and brew houses, granaries and stabling. In one of the largest and most sophisticated great towers, at Orford, the internal area had central floors some 9 metres in diameter, giving two ceremonial floors and space within the three octagonal towers for some accommodation. There were also two kitchens and a well within the tower.[532] But even there, most of the servants and soldiers and the necessary services such as stabling would have had to be accommodated in the far less secure baileys, protected by ditches and at Orford by a curtain wall and towers. The new siege machines, such as trebuchets, would make even those baileys protected by stone walls vulnerable.[533]

There is ample documentary evidence that accommodation and services continued to be provided in the bailey. The Pipe Roll records of royal expenditure show that a '*domus regis'* or king's house was a standard facility. Even at the relatively large Tower of London, from 1166 there was a separate king's house.[534] It is therefore unlikely that the primary function of the great towers built by kings, earls or barons would have been to offer either security or residence.

Capturing the castle

The importance of castles is supported by the fact that during the baronial wars of the reigns of Henry II and Henry III, kings and barons alike saw the need to besiege

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[529] Pounds, *Medieval Castles*, p.72.

[530] G. Chaucer, 'The House of Fame' in F.N. Robinson, ed., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957 3rd Edition), Book 3, lines 1185-6.

[531] P. Dixon, 'The Myth of the Keep' in G. Meiron Jones and E. Impey, eds., *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c. 800-1600* (Oxford: Archeopress, 2002), p.9.

[532] D.Renn, *Framlingham and Orford Castles* (London: English Heritage, 1988), p.26.

[533] A trebuchet was a catapult capable of throwing a very large stone over 50 metres.

[534] *Pipe Roll* 13 Henry II (1166-7), Pipe Roll Society vol. X i 1.

and capture them. The king established his authority by taking or forcing surrender of the rebels' castles and the rebels responded in kind. Neither side relished the cost of manning more castles, but the domination that castles represented was worth pursuing. The importance accorded to castles at this time can also be measured by the fact that when Henry II came to the throne in 1154, baronial castles outnumbered royal ones by five to one, but by the end of his reign (1189) he had taken back or destroyed many and constructed more of his own so that numbers were equal.[535] A similar objective drove the actions of Prince Louis in the rebellion he led in 1216. He captured many castles in the South and East, including Orford and Colchester, though eventually there was a negotiated truce.

In practice, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries remarkably few siege actions were allowed to develop, particularly when it was the king besieging a baron's castle. The reasons are complex, but one certain factor was cost. At Exeter, the three-month siege in 1136 was reported to have cost some 15,000 marks.[536] This was a price that most barons simply could not afford. For a baron besieged by the king, a truce, generally involving a large payment to the king but still costing less than rebuilding a castle, could be negotiated honourably to avoid destruction of both property and men. Both Bungay and Framlingham surrendered to avoid a siege, paying substantial sums to the royal treasury.[537]

Looking at the years of the anarchy and the barons' rebellions during the reigns of Henry II, King John and Henry III, in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex there were 74 castles and 27 sieges of which none were notable enough to be recorded in detail. Much more significant was the need for the attacking army to take control of the castles, preferably without a fight, to broadcast that they had conquered the territory. This accounts for the frequent change of control without major destruction at key castles such as Orford during the baronial rebellion in the reign of Henry III.[538]

The chronicler's comment about not putting trust in castles after King John's siege at Rochester may have held good for a while, but for the next two centuries both kings and barons continued to build, enhance and repair castles. However, castles were also a place for entertainment and display.

The castle as a place of entertainment

One of the key functions of baronial castles was to provide places where the aristocracy could entertain their peers. It was one of the main reasons for undertaking the initial expenditure. The inner walls of the great hall would be covered in costly and colourful tapestries, the central hearth would provide warmth, many candles and torches would give light and there would be trestles and

[535] R.A. Brown, 'A list of castles 1154-1216', *EHR*, 74 (1959) 249-280.
[536] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.64.
[537] See sections on Bungay and Framlingham Castles.
[538] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, pp.71 and 84-86.

benches for guests to sit and eat. Though not as high as food costs for Bury Abbey (aristocratic expenditure on food was nearer 25% rather than the Abbey's 50%), the typical feasts for aristocratic guests would have included many different kinds of meat, including venison, beef, mutton and pork, as well as poultry, rabbits and, on fish days, a wide variety including cod, sturgeon and salt herring.[539] Drink would have included fine wines, many imported from France. Though there are few records, Professor Dyer has researched expenditure on entertainments at the end of the fifteenth century including plays, musicians and minstrels. [540] We know from records of the *Romance of the Rose* being performed that there would have been bards and storytellers.[541]

Castles were also places of ceremony. For instance, it has been suggested that Hedingham Castle was constructed to celebrate Aubrey de Vere III becoming Earl of Oxford. The ceremonies in the upper hall were comparable to a royal crown wearing.[542]

There would also have been gardens within or just outside the bailey though few have survived.[543] These would have provided places to stroll, as would walks on the walls with views over the countryside that belonged to the lord of the castle. Most importantly, there would have been opportunities to go out of the castle to hunt in the surrounding woods and parks. Deer, boar, partridge and other birds would all have been kept to provide for such hunts.

<u>The castle as administrative centre</u>

Most baronial castles including Bungay and Framlingham, and many of the royal castles such as Colchester and Norwich, were also centres for the management of the surrounding estates, or, in the case of royal castles such as Colchester, for the county. Rents and other dues were collected there, and the manor court or royal court was usually held there, with the hall in the bailey being used for these purposes.

The next sections look at whether, and if so how, the Bigods' castles reflected these changes in design and function.

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[539] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.55; Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (1295-1360) *Household and Other Records*, ed. J. Ward (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp.65-87.

[540] Dyer, S*tandards of Living*, p.74.

[541] Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle*, p.59.

[542] P.Dixon and P.Marshall, 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle : a Reassessment', in Liddiard, *Anglo-Norman Castles*, p.306.

[543] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London: Equinox, 2002), p.75.

Bungay Castle structure and functions

The town of Bungay is located on a neck of land between two arms of the River Waveney; in the tenth century the isthmus was probably fortified by two ditches, forming a very defensible site. Hugh's castle was built in the centre of the town and a general idea of the site, the massive walls and gatehouse, can be gained from the aerial photograph (Figure 3.2). The inner bailey held Hugh's great hall, but little is now left of this or of the imposing great tower he built in the middle of the twelfth century. The whole twelfth century complex was surrounded by ramparts and deep ditches. The walls and the gatehouse that are still standing were built by the last Roger Bigod in the late fourteenth century.
Hugh Braun made a special study of Bungay Castle and supervised extensive excavations in 1956.[544] As a result, although only ruins are left we can gain a reasonable appreciation of both the scale and design of what Hugh Bigod had built in the middle of the twelfth century and what the last Roger added at the end of the thirteenth century.

Hugh Bigod's tower

The tower was built on a base some 23m (70ft) square, with the exterior walls sloping back from ground level as a plinth. Above the plinth, sites of ornamental pilasters some 4.3m (13ft) wide were detected, one in the centre of each face and a pair at each angle. They projected about 0.67m (2ft) in front of the walls.[545] Internally, the tower was some 11.3m (34ft) square[546] and divided in two by a cross wall some 2.7m thick, leaving two rooms some 4.3m (13ft) wide. From the excavations, it appears that the interior consisted of a basement level with windows, a garderobe and a wide stair to the upper floor. No trace of the upper floor was found, but from similar towers at Scarborough and Orford it is likely that the top would have been some 6.7m (20ft) above the foundation, each storey then being some 3.35m high, usual in such keeps.[547] It would have been usual to have had four floors in total, as for instance there were at Scarborough, built by Henry II in 1159 just before Bungay (see below), with an entrance floor above the basement and two further floors up to the springing of the roof. If each of these were 6.7m (20ft) high like the entrance hall, the total height of the tower with roof ridges would have been some 27m (90ft).[548] This is the same as the tower at Scarborough (Figure 3.7).

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[544] H. Braun, 'Some notes on Bungay Castle, Suffolk'. *PSIAH* vol. 22 (1936) 109-119 and 'Bungay Castle – a report on the Excavations', *PSIAH* Volume 37 Part 2 (1956) 201-223.
[545] H. Braun, 'Some notes on Bungay Castle'.
[546] This compares with Orford, which was twice as large, nine metres in diameter.
[547] Braun, 'Excavations at Bungay Castle', 201-223.
[548] Ibid, p.216.

Functions

In terms of accommodation, the internal space in the tower itself was not large, and even with the hall and other buildings in the inner bailey and space in the castle yard, as shown on the aerial photograph, there would not have been much space for entertaining visitors. From documentary evidence it seems that Bungay Castle was used as a residence by Hugh and his family.[549] The tower would have provided high quality ceremonial space while the hall in the bailey provided space for the family and their retainers. However, its location in the centre of Bungay would not facilitate hunting or excursions from the castle. The view that the Castle was seen by Hugh Bigod primarily as a defensive stronghold was reflected in his reported boast:

> Were I in my castle of Bungaye
> Above the water of Waveney,
> I would ne care for the King of Cockneye,
> And all his meiny.[550]

Little can be deduced about internal decoration at Bungay, but the discovery of remains of a large traditional hall located with other buildings in the bailey would indicate that the interior of the tower was, as at Hedingham (see below), probably designed primarily for ceremonial functions, while the great ramparts were designed to be, and look like, strong defences.
Regardless of whether the Earl was in residence, the great hall in the inner bailey also had an important administrative function, since the Bigods had gained large land holdings granted by Henry II at the same time as the land for the Castle. These additional lands, listed in the *Domesday Book* under the lordship of Stigand, later Archbishop of Canterbury, consisted of some ten carucates (1200 acres) of land, 80 villagers and smallholders, 20 freemen and two churches and were valued at £17.[551] The Bigods' existing 13 holdings in the same area (Wangford Hundred) were mostly small (under 35 acres) and worth some £9.[552] This much bigger area which contributed some 5% of the income of the family in the late twelfth century would have required an administrative centre with a permanent manager (as St. Edmunds Abbey developed at Redgrave) and the hall in the castle provided this.[553] So Hugh's castle buildings, as well as appearing to be a defensible residence, provided one of the additional functions reviewed in the previous section, though probably not those of entertainment and sophisticated design.

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[549] Braun, 'Notes on Bungay Castle', p.111.
[550] Ibid., p.119; 'meiny' means retinue. Dates for the poem are disputed, see below under Capitulation.
[551] *Domesday Book Suffolk 1*,1 10-111.
[552] Ibid., 7.40-52.
[553] Chapter Two, section on St. Edmund's manors.

The Siege of Bungay, 1174

The strong defences that Bigod – allegedly at least – boasted about were not, in the end, put to the test. During the rebellion of 1174, Hugh established himself in his Bungay stronghold. Henry II and his army approached the Castle and, without a fight, Hugh Bigod then made terms with the King. This is recognised by the rarely quoted last verse of the ballad which in the first verse depicts him defying the King.

> Sir Hugh took three score sacks of gold
> And flung them over the wall,
> Says, 'Go your ways, in the Devil's name,
> Yourself and your merry men all
> But leave me my castle of Bungay,
> Upon the river Waveney,
> And I'll pay my shot to the King of Cockney.'[554]

There is doubt about the origin and date of this ballad. Holinshed's *Chronicles* suggest a date of 1266 and *The Old Suffolk Garland*, collated in 1818, dates it to the reign of Henry II.[555] A date contemporary with the siege seems unlikely, but a certain date cannot be established.[556] It is certain, however, that Hugh Bigod lost control of his castle and paid the King not to demolish it.

Architectural comparisons

There is a close similarity between the tower at Bungay and the King's Great Tower at Scarborough, which commanded the north-east coast and underlined the King's hold on the whole of northern England (see Figure 3.9). The great tower of Scarborough Castle stands some 27m (90ft) high with walls 3.5m (12ft) thick. This compares with Bungay where the tower was probably the same height but the external walls were 6m (18ft) thick. At both sites, the tower was decorated with broad regularly spaced pilasters articulated on each face and three levels of windows.[557] The remains of a cross-wall have been found at Scarborough, which divided the internal space into two main areas as at Bungay, but the walls were found to be laced with passages and chambers. There was also a hall and associated buildings such as brew house and kitchen, in the bailey.[558] It was consistently repaired by Henry II and Richard I, who spent £446 on Scarborough between 1155

[554] E. Mann, *Old Bungay* (London: Heath Cranton Ltd., 1934), p.34; J. Ford, ed., *The Suffolk Garland: or a Collection of Poems, Tales, Ballads* (London: Longman, 1818), p.403.
[555] Henry II reigned from 1154-1189.
[556] Mann, *Old Bungay*, pp.32-34.
[557] This is supposition at Bungay, as the tower's top storeys no longer exist – see above.
[558] Scarborough Castle, www.english-heritage.org.uk [Accessed 9.5.2016].

and 1197/8. In contrast, King John spent £2,272 between 1197/8 and 1216 building yet another hall in the outer bailey, renewing the walls and building a well 46m deep (Figure 3.8).[559] This level of expenditure underlines the importance of Scarborough to royalty as a highly visible sign of the kings' intentions to maintain their hold on the kingdom.

Bungay also resembles, externally at least, the tower of Castle Hedingham (Figure 3.5). This tower, built c.1142, had no defensive capacity and contained no accommodation or other domestic elements.[560] It was, however, faced with high quality ashlar and had elaborate fenestration. The external door to the tower opens directly at first-floor level through an ornate archway into a room which clearly had a social function as a reception area with doors, garderobes, fireplace, tall windows and stairs leading to the upper chamber. This upper room is much grander, with richly moulded arches, decorated window arches and ornate fireplace (Figure 3.6). A clerestory gallery looks down onto this upper hall.[561] The area around the tower held the domestic living space and all the services and guest houses which would be standard in a major manorial centre.

Although at Bungay the last Earl Roger constructed the gate tower and encircling walls in the late thirteenth century, differentiating the site from these others, the Castle appears never to have been occupied again. Instead it was Framlingham that was lived in by the successors to the Bigods, Thomas Brotherton and later the Mowbrays. Framlingham Castle had a different design, had more functions and a very different fate.

Framlingham Castle

The first castle at Framlingham, probably built in the late eleventh and early years of the twelfth century, was very different from both Bungay and the second Framlingham Castle built towards the end of that century. The first Roger is believed to have established a defended manorial complex built largely in timber, with a hall, chapel and extensive buildings for accommodation and services. He chose the hill above the town of Framlingham where, it is believed, there were the remains of a motte and bailey castle. The little that is known of this first building arose from excavations on the site in 1970,[562] which revealed that there had been a motte on the site, probably destroyed when Roger built a great hall and chapel on the east of the site. Two stone chimneys and the rear arch of a round-headed window were identified as possible features of this hall and chapel. Only light foundations surrounding the site were found, leaving unsolved the question of the

[559] Brown R.A., 'Royal Castle Building in England, 1154-1216', *EHR* no. 176 *(*1953). pp.156-177.

[560] Goodall, *English Castles*, p.102; Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.52.

[561] Dixon and Marshall,'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle', pp.297-306.

[562] Coad, 'Recent Excavations at Framlingham Castle' 152-191.

nature of defences that were built to secure the first complex. The second Framlingham was a very different building.

The second Framlingham Castle

Dover Castle (Figure 3.10A) had been built (1181-6) by the time Roger the Third was planning his new castle towards the endof the twelfth century.[563] Almost at the same time, the King's castle at Orford, Suffolk, was under construction.[564] The probable appearance of the curtain wall at Orford has been reconstructed by English Heritage from excavations (Figure 3.11). The curtain wall as a key defensive structure was the basis of approaches to future royal castles such as Edward I's great castles in Wales, culminating in the unfinished Beaumaris (Figure 3.10B). The design was closely followed at Framlingham (built in the 1190s), though there were differences, and questions remain about a number of aspects of the design, which are explored below.

The walls

A general view of the Framlingham Castle walls now (Figure 3.14) shows how little the external walls have changed. The Castle walls, built of local flint and septaria, were some 10.5m high and 2.3m thick. There were 13 towers (one having now disappeared), all with sandstone quoins to give strength to their corners. The towers rose 3.8m above the wall, giving a total height of 14.2m. On the west side in particular, where the wall and its towers rose high above the mere reflecting its arrow loops and crenellated battlements, it would give a formidable first impression, making the towers seem significantly higher and so more impregnable.[565]

The structure

One of the key differences from the design of the royal castles at Dover and Orford was that Framlingham had no central great tower. As discussed earlier, a central tower was almost universal in castles built at this time including those at Newcastle, Richmond, Gloucester and Norham. All these, whether built by a king, bishop or noble, had central towers, though there was a variety of additional buildings and wall designs.[566] Only in the late thirteenth century, with castles such as Beaumaris

[563] Goodall, *English Castles*, p.142.
[564] Under construction between 1165 and 1173: Renn, *Framlingham and Orford Castles*, p.22.
[565] N. Stacey, *Framlingham Castle* (London: English Heritage, 2009), p.5.
[566] Goodall, *The English Castle*, pp.128-141; Pounds, *The Medieval Castle*, pp.21 and 188.

(1295), was the central tower replaced with fortified gatehouse towers; and that castle was never finished.[567] Orford, Dover and Framlingham were all close in time but only Framlingham had no central tower. It is not clear why this was so. Reasons advanced include the existence of a great hall inside the walls which removed the need for a central keep, and that defence was not a primary consideration.[568] Perhaps most convincing of all, there is an argument that, as the walls were unusually tall for their time, there was no need for a further high building to establish dominance or increase the defensive capacity of the castle.[569]

Taking the first point, it is likely that the hall against the east wall, originally built by the first Roger, had been reconstructed in stone by Hugh. However, during his rebuilding of the Castle, Roger converted this hall into chambers and built a new bigger hall in stone, against the west wall (see below). If Roger felt he needed to build a new hall, he could have built a tower instead but at greater cost. The second argument about defence may well have some truth in it and the paragraphs below examine the question of the defensive aspects of the castle more fully.

The third argument is important, especially if coupled with a further argument about expense. At the end of the twelfth century Roger Bigod paid a large fine (1000 marks or £661) to Richard I for the return of his title, lands and castles. The cost of building a strong curtain wall castle with layers of defensive structures as at Dover has been estimated as £7000. A reasonably strong castle such as Nottingham could cost much less, nearer £2000. [570] It is probable, therefore, that Roger spent at least £2000 on his new walls and towers and the internal structures.[571] Looking at the cost of the relatively modest towers built by Henry II at Wark and Chilham, £357 and £419 respectively, Earl Roger may have decided that spending a minimum of a further £400-£600 on a tower was an avoidable expense given the imposing appearance of his curtain wall and towers.[572] Although he built a new hall, this would have cost much less than a great tower, not least because he did not need to acquire stone and have it dressed for at least four storeys. However, given the overall cost of the castle being constructed, the additional cost of a tower was relatively small and though it is tempting to consider that he may have been considering economics, it is nevertheless more likely that with the high walls there was a sufficiently imposing appearance to warrant not building a tower as well.

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[567] Pounds, *The Medieval Castle*, pp.174-5.

[568] Stacey, *Framlingham Castle*, p.12; D. Plowman, 'Framlingham Castle, a political statement', *PSIAH* XLI part 1 (2005) 43-49.

[569] Goodall, *English Castles*, p.145. The wide variation is due to the varying complexity of encircling walls, their height and finish and the cost of construction.

[570] Ibid., p.151.

[571] Brown, 'Royal Castle Building in England, pp.136-7.

[572] Ibid, pp.167, 170 and 144.

Defences

A basic function of Framlingham Castle, as with the majority of castles, was to be seen as a defensible stronghold. This role has been emphasised in historical descriptions of the Castle, though its effectiveness may be questionable given its placing in the landscape and some design features.[573] The layout of the defences can be seen from the ground-floor plan (Figure 3.12). Central to defence was the ring of towers, all but one of them square, with crenellated turrets, the exception being the five-sided tower at the southern corner which protected the bailey. As at Dover, the backs of the towers were made of timber and each had a fighting gallery reached by a ladder from the wall walk. The wall walk itself was continuous, with the gaps made by the towers bridged by planks. These could be removed if an attack was threatened, to prevent access by defenders scaling the walls. English Heritage has reconstructed the likely appearance of a defensive tower fighting platform (Figure 3.13). As well as being able to launch arrows from the tops of the towers, there were two more sets of possible firing positions (arrow loops), one at wall walk level and the other in the lower part of the wall. Each of these gave a considerable field of fire for the defenders to repel attackers. These arrangements gave the castle the tools to repel besiegers, but other factors relating to the site and its protection raise questions about its vulnerability.

Below and to the west of the internal enclosure, surrounded by the curtain wall and its towers, was a rectangular area known as the Lower Court. At one stage this had some form of curtain wall around it, of which traces can be seen, and the castle and Lower Court were surrounded on three sides by a deep dry moat. Both ends of the moat connected to the mere. Surrounding the castle in a crescent-shaped arc was a large bailey, which had an outer moat and earthen bank as its defence together with protection from the option of defensive fire from the castle walls.[574] Looking at the ring of walls and ditches, these are asymmetrical, with the eastern side defended by a ditch and palisade, the western side very well defended with ditches and the mere (though this could easily be drained), but as the north-east had few defences, any attacker could approach the castle from there without encountering severe opposition.[575]

The siege of 1216 at Framlingham

The conduct and outcome of the siege of 1216 at Framlingham, when the castle surrendered to King John within two days of the start of the siege, supports the

[573] In particular, the English Heritage booklets by Raby and Reynolds (1959) and more recently Nicola Stacey (2009).

[574] Coad,'Recent Excavations at Framlingham Castle', p.152.

[575] D. Plowman, 'Framlingham Castle, A Political Statement', *PSIAH* 41 Part 1 *(2005*), 43-49, p.43.

view that sieges were avoided when possible because of their cost in men and money.[576] This attitude needs to be taken into account when considering the importance and effectiveness of the defensive elements in the Castle's design. In 1216 there was a garrison of at least 26 knights, 20 sergeants and seven crossbowmen, which should have enabled Framlingham to hold out for some considerable time.[577] Historical records give details of this incident, stating that two of Roger's knights acting as peace envoys were given letters of safe conduct to go and discuss terms of peace with their lord.[578] When they returned, the Constable of the Castle was ordered to surrender it and his men. There are some explanations for a relatively new and well–manned castle in effect giving up without a fight. The first was potential cost. Given Roger Bigod's expenses in building the Castle, he may not have wanted severe damage. The second was that King John had a reputation for successful and fiercely fought sieges. Colchester and Castle Hedingham had already surrendered, and it cost Rochester £370,000 (60,000 marks) for the siege there to be ended.[579]

Nevertheless, another underlying reason for the Framlingham surrender may have been that despite appearances, the castle was vulnerable to attack. It was not sited on the highest part of the ridge, and consequently its inner bailey was lower and so more vulnerable than the outer bailey. As described above, the outer wall and ditches did not completely protect it, leaving it vulnerable on the north side.[580] This raises the possibility that although the arrow loops, crenellations and elaborate defensive towers gave the appearance of a well-defended stronghold, it was not wholly secure and the design of Framlingham Castle was about optimising its impact on approaching visitors, which would have been enhanced by these features.

Entertainment and delight

A key factor in achieving an impact on visitors would have been the approach to the castle. If, as seems likely, this was from the northern edge of the mere to the northern side of the Lower Court and from there along a winding path to the postern gate, this would have achieved two objectives. The first would be to give the traveller the best impression of the towered walls reflected in the water of the mere (Figure 3.14). One hundred years later, Stokesay Castle, rebuilt in 1291 by Lawrence of Ludlow, was created with just such a lake reflecting its image in a remarkably similar approach (Figure 3.15).[581] The second objective could have been to foster a reference to the fortress at Troy in the *Roman de Troie.*[582] The fortress

[576] Set out in Chapter 1.
[577] Brown, 'Framlingham Castle, pp.144-5.
[578] Ibid., p.141.
[579] Liddiard, *Castles of Conquest*, p.94.
[580] Alexander, *Framlingham Castle*, p.24.
[581] Goodall, *English Castles*, p.235.
[582] Alexander, *Framlingham Castle*, *Suffolk*, p.24.

was described in the story as on a rock so high that to anyone looking at it from below it would seem that it could reach the clouds.[583] The *Roman de Troie*, written in 1155-60 by Benoit de Saint Maure for the court of Henry II, and dedicated to Queen Eleanor, would have been familiar to those attending the King's court and would have been recited as entertainment in baronial halls.[584]
The validity of the assumed approach through the lower courtyard is partly dependent on the western tower being seen as a main entrance, giving access to the Lower Court via the postern gate. This in turn would have given access to the great hall and the extensive private accommodation, which was all on the western side of the inner courtyard (described below). For those inside the castle, the walk on the walls, only accessible from the west, would give extensive views over church, town and the countryside largely owned by the Earls.

The western tower

The western tower is often called the Prison Tower, since for many years the lower floor was thought to have been a dungeon. An alternative explanation from D. Plowman is that this was in fact a drawbridge pit and was only used for prisoners in Elizabethan times.[585] Given that accounts of 1302 refer to a prison gate, it is possible that the upper room of this tower was used for high status prisoners captured in the invasion of Scotland. They would have to be held in secure but relatively comfortable accommodation and would have been distributed among the King's trusted earls for safe keeping. As Earl Marshal of England accompanying Edward I on his invasion, Roger Bigod would have been expected to hold some of these prisoners. The upper room, with garderobes and access to the wall walks but otherwise secure, would have been appropriate accommodation for such prisoners.[586] This practical explanation for the nomenclature of the 'Prison Tower' would allow the main approach to have been through this western tower.

Possible internal structures

Inside the castle, the probable structures have been researched by English Heritage and the guidebook of 1959 (Raby and Reynolds) sets out findings in some detail, using them for a reconstruction drawing (Figure 3.16).[587] Although this is a

[583] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, p.126: quoting from Paris, *Roman de Troie* vv. 3050-3094.
[584] Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle*, p.5.
[585] Plowman, 'Framlingham Castle, A Political Statement', p.44.
[586] Ibid.
[587] Raby and Reynolds quote from a series of accounts documents held in the National Archives (SC6.997 1-95).These cover expenditure on the Castle in the years 1267-68 to 1307-8. As an example, SC6/997/11 details repair costs for the knights' lodging, the chapel in the bailey and a wall adjoining the kitchen.

reconstruction, it may give some idea of the general features likely to be found in the castle. Some, such as the three semi-circular headed openings by the gate tower, were each found near arrow slits, probably indicating that these were two-storey soldiers' rooms. The accounts of 1205 refer to their re-thatching.[588] Excavations have shown that next to these rooms was the great hall built by Hugh's son Roger, probably an aisled single-storey structure some 15m (45ft) wide, with an attached solar at the north end.[589]

There is little architectural evidence of internal structures, but on the east side the sixth tower was wider than the others, the extra width allowing for the chapel. There are also three pilaster buttresses flanked by arched recesses to allow for a high-pitched roof known to have been present from documented expenditure of £1.6s 4d in 1274 to repair it.[590] The first great hall was also on the east side of the castle area. Two cylindrical chimneys remain, the first of their kind, indicating that a ground floor hall with elaborate fireplaces was present. Excavations have established that there was a building measuring some 8m (24ft) at this point.[591] Two semi-circular headed windows in this hall were extended through the curtain wall when it was constructed, and it is likely that the first floor was a solar. From the evidence of two fireplaces near the twelfth tower, the kitchens were probably located there. The hall and solar may have been converted to guest chambers when Roger built his new great hall.[592] Documentary evidence in the Framlingham Accounts reveals other details: from records of repair work in 1293 and 1295, in addition to the chapel and hall, the bailey also housed chambers for sergeants and knights, stables, barns and a granary or grange. From the accounts of 1281/2, this granary appears to have been protected by walls as costs for repair were recorded.[593]

The reconstruction gives an impression of how these different buildings related, though it can be no more than an impression. It is similar to the manorial building complex found at Cuxham (Figure 1.10) except that it was surrounded by stone walls rather than wooden fences. There appears to have been nothing exceptional in the internal structures at Framlingham except for the elaborate fireplaces in the first great hall built on the east side. These were clearly not the traditional central hearths. In other ways, the linear structures conform to the general layout seen in manorial complexes built for St. Edmund's Abbey and royal hunting lodges.[594] From these details, it seems that the castle was well provided with kitchens to prepare feasts, had a spacious hall for both eating and entertainments, and that there were

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[588] Raby and Reynolds, *Framlingham Castle*, p.21.

[589] Ibid., p.25: Coad, 'Recent Excavations at Framlingham Castle', p.154-157.

[590] Raby and Reynolds, *Framlingham Castle*, pp.25-26.

[591] Coad, 'Recent Excavations at Framlinghan Castle', p.157.

[592] Windows in the tenth tower structure and the curtain wall south are the only remaining evidence for this hall. The sequence of building has been so destroyed that a plan or date cannot be reliably established. Raby and Reynolds, *Framlingham Castle*, p.28.

[593] Ibid, p.36.

[594] Covered in Chapters Two and Four.

private chambers for accommodating aristocratic guests. The lower court also had gardens and the views from the west walls would have looked out over the mere. It fulfilled the function of entertaining aristocratic guests.

The mere

The mere to the west of the castle was artificially dug and for many years was thought to have been a part of the defence of the earliest castle, forming protection on the west, with ditches and palisades protecting the other sides.[595] An old shoreline, still visible, defines an area of 23 acres. More recently, it has been suggested that it was created during or soon after the construction of the late twelfth-century castle.[596] However, as the dam used to create the mere was not easily defended from within the castle, the mere could easily have been drained by breaching it, significantly reducing the effectiveness of the water as a defence. This makes it more likely that, as well as a defence, the mere was created to provide the castle with a landscape that gave it an impressive approach and a possible historical link to medieval Arthurian romances (see above). At a more practical level, the mere also had economic benefits.[597]

The Great Park

This and other local parks were very important for establishing the castle as the caput of a noble of the first rank. Hunting, the supply of venison for the table and the giving of gifts of venison were well-established traditions amongst the new Norman elite.[598] The park which surrounded the Castle is thought to have been created when the first Roger Bigod was establishing a defended residence at the end of the twelfth century and developed as an early deer park.[599] It was probably extended when the later castle was built in order to create a greater supply of venison, but also to provide more opportunities for hunting as a traditional part of hospitality for, and social interaction with, visiting bishops, nobles and the royal household. The Great Park was surrounded by a pale (a palisade on top of the rampart created by a ditch being dug) to prevent deer escaping and, to some extent, prevent poachers from getting in. Some of the services required from the Bigods' tenants included repairs and maintenance of this park fence under the

[595] Raby and Reynolds, *Framlingham Castle*, p.5.
[596] Alexander, *Framlingham Castle*, p.25.
[597] See under Estates below.
[598] Alexander, *Framlingham Castle*, p.27.
[599] Ibid., p.26; *Medieval Framlingham*, p.9; see also Chapter Four.

supervision of the park keeper.[600] Partridges, rabbits, pheasants and hares were also hunted in Framlingham parks for sport and for the table.[601]
The landscape and design of Framlingham were very different from Bungay and fulfilled three of the functions ascribed to castles of this time: it looked imposing and defensible; with its surrounding mere and parks, it provided a place to entertain peers; and in addition the buildings in the inner bailey also provided a centre for estate management of the surrounding areas. There is, however, too little remaining to judge whether the internal design was more sophisticated than that of earlier castles.
Framlingham was not only different from Bungay but even more different from the castle at Walton.

Walton Castle

Walton was almost certainly a Roman fort built to defend the shore, but has now disappeared under the sea. What little is known of the layout comes from a description of 1722:

> 'tis 100 yards long, five foot above ground, 12 broad at each end and turned with an angle. Its composed of pepple and Roman brick in three courses….. there are two entire pillars.[602]

The only other description of the castle is in a passage from Diceto referring to the Earl of Leicester's attack on it in 1173. Diceto says that Walton Castle was constructed on a high mound with such excellent towers and strong and high walls that even with machines and men the stronghold could not be taken in four days.[603] V. B. Redstone suggests that Hugh Bigod constructed or strengthened the castle within the walls of the Roman fort. It is probable, given his work at Bungay, that Hugh did strengthen the walls and that the key building would have been a tower in the corner of the new wall, giving strength without too much additional masonry work required.[604] The defences proved too strong for the invading Flemish army.[605] With such sparse remaining evidence, the functions of the Castle other than defence are not clear, especially as from account rolls there appears to have been an extensive manorial complex just outside the castle walls, probably the forerunner of what became known as Walton Hall.[606] It is only possible to consider

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[600] *Medieval Framlingham*, p.10.
[601] Ibid., pp.10-11.
[602] *Victoria County History of Suffolk*, W. Page, ed., (London: Archbald, Constable and Co. Ltd., 1907) vol.1, p.37.
[603] Quoted in Brown, 'Framlingham Castle', p. 131.
[604] V.B. Redstone 'Angelus Anglie', *PSIAH* vol. 23 (1938), p.155.
[605] Wareham, 'Motives and politics', p.240.
[606] J. Fairclough,'The Bigods at Walton Hall', *PSIAH vol. 61* part 4 (2008) 405-424.

the Walton site in comparison with another Roman fort, for instance the one built to defend the shore at Portchester (Figure 3.17); this castle was granted by William the Conqueror to William Maudit, who is believed to have created the inner bailey. Later, the tower was built, and when Henry II came to the throne he took over Portchester Castle as an important royal stronghold. It continued to be a point of embarkation and return for campaigns on the continent throughout the Middle Ages.[607]

The Bigod estates

Approaches to estate management

As illustrated in previous paragraphs, income from estates was essential to the finances of the great earls. As a result, the secular earls developed agricultural practices and an estate management structure on their demesne lands as well as continuing to collect rent and other cash income from their tenants. For the same reasons, the income from estates leased by major ecclesiastical institutions was their main source of finance to support their buildings and the living costs of monks, nuns and priests.[608] However, on many of the manors held by the King, rents and charges were low, development by the villagers was unchecked and the land was under-utilised.[609] Though only a small sample, and with a potential for statistical error, three estates demonstrate the difference in the level of income generated by different approaches. The King's manor of Havering in Essex generated £85 in 1199 from 1200 acres, the Bury manor of Elvedon, which had 240 acres, was leased for £25 in 1186, and in the same year the Bigod manor of Framlingham generated £62 from 400 acres. Taking a standard measure of 240 acres this shows a significant difference in income, as shown in Table 3.1 below:[610]

[607] History of Portchester Castle, www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/portchester [Accessed 16.05.2016].

[608] See Chapter Two.

[609] Researched in Chapter Four.

[610] See Chapter Four section 2; Kalendar of Abbot Samson p.119 Charter 77; Ridyard Medieval Framlingham, pp 19-20. The doubling of value between the royal and Bigod estates matches the figures for increased income generated from rents.

Table 3.1: Difference in income

King's Manor of Havering	£17
Bury Manor of Ingham	£25 (and hay from the Abbey)
Bigod Manor of Framlingham	£37

Income generation

To generate an increase in annual income from the £450 enjoyed by the first Roger in around 1100 to some £4000 a year as estimated by the King's Commissioners in 1306 required a range of strategies. A significant part of the increase came from the Bigod family becoming lords of much more land. Many manors were given by the King (for instance around Bungay in the early twelfth century), others acquired by marriages, particularly marrying into the Earl Marshall's family, and still others were acquired by the generations of Bigods.[611] It was important for the Earls to exploit each aspect of their manors to optimise income.

Secular earls generated income from manors in four ways, three related directly to the land. Firstly, tenants paying rent for their land generated income in cash or in kind such as eggs and hens. Despite the reversion of many manors to direct farming by secular lords, throughout this period rental income continued to provide between 50% and 60% of the income of many of the wealthier secular lords.[612] The value of rental income resulted in lords seeking to increase the number of tenants on many estates. They freed slaves to become rent-paying tenants of relatively small acreages, released some demesne land as tenancies to servants or other loyal workers who then paid rent, and sought rents from tenants of additional land recovered from forest or pasture and used for agriculture.

The second source of income was from those in servile tenure (villeins), who provided a range of regular labour services on the land farmed directly by their lord, such as weeding, ploughing, sowing, reaping, and manuring. These services could be used to reduce the costs of farming or, as frequently happened towards end of the twelfth century and after, commuted for a cash payment if the service was not required or if hired labour was preferred.

The third income source was from land cultivated directly by the lord of the manor (demesne land), which provided food for the household but also crops and animals to sell at market for cash. This is explored more fully in the paragraphs dealing with specific estates. The fourth income stream was from manor courts. The earls had jurisdiction over the manors where they were the tenant-in-chief, just as the ecclesiastics such as Bury Abbey had over their land and the King had over his manors.[613] The courts were usually run by the lord's steward and generated income

[611] Ibid., pp.31-42.
[612] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p.137.
[613] Detailed in Chapters Two and Four.

from fines and charges levied on villagers and freemen living on the land in the court's purview. For instance, a charge (heriot) was levied when a tenant died and his heirs wanted to take possession of the land, fines were levied for not using the lord's mill, there were charges for the recovery of stolen property and fines were applied for misdemeanours such as marrying without permission. The proportion of income generated by these four sources varied widely between and within estates, but also between the different classes of owners.

The Bigod income from rents

As discussed in earlier paragraphs, when Roger Bigod came to England with William the Conqueror he started on his career as one of seven stewards responsible for managing part of the royal demesne in the eastern counties.[614] At this time the term 'steward' covered the duties performed to manage estates, collect income and oversee expenditure.[615]
From this first appointment he was able to keep some of the revenues generated by this office, and they were a significant part of his income. Roger was an effective manager, generating a greater increase in value of the estates he managed (127% on 29% of the demesne) than any of his six fellow officials. He found that it was often easier to increase the rents for villeins rather than free tenants and focussed on exploiting this potential on four key estates in Norfolk where the numbers of freemen were lower. However, some of the large increase in value was also due to better management of livestock and access to markets and meeting places.[616] At the same time, in Suffolk he used a variety of strategies to improve the rental income available, including reducing the numbers of freemen and letting the land to more villeins, so generating more income. He also increased rents paid by free peasants on some estates. In some areas Roger failed and pre-Conquest rents were restored, but generally from the increased valuation he would have received an income of £150 per annum. At the end of the eleventh century, Roger had received additional estates as tenant-in-chief, his large estates around Framlingham were now leased directly from the King and his total income was some £453. The strategies in the manors he controlled on behalf of the King earned him some 40% of his wealth in Norfolk and around 33% in Suffolk.[617] The rest came from directly managed estates.

[614] Wareham, *Lords and Communities*, p.142.
[615] Later, Roger became a royal steward (to William II) and this involved quite different responsibilities. In particular, the royal steward had to arrange troops for warfare, hold valuable hostages for the King and act as a member of the powerful King's Council.
[616] Ibid., p143: (Fakenham, Holt, Southmere and Wigton where values increased by 108%).
[617] Ibid, pp.142-144.

The Bigod income from demesne agriculture

Detailed studies of Earl Roger's estates in Norfolk and Suffolk show that his approach broadened as he acquired more land for himself and his family bought or gifted by the King or acquired by marriage. He began to develop Framlingham and funded the building of manor complexes on the larger estates. He maximised the volume of crops and other products that could be provided from his demesne and sold for cash, farmed manors using different approaches to land utilisation and developed local market opportunities as well as investing in new building. Evidence to support this view comes from a study of the Norfolk manors of Acle, Halvergate and South Walsham, research into the Bigod manor of Forncett St. Martin, also in Norfolk, estates on the Brecklands, and accounts for two Suffolk estates, Framlingham and Bungay. [618]

Norfolk manors – Acle, Halvergate and South Walsham

These three Bigod Norfolk manors were included in Bruce Campbell's study of agricultural progress in medieval England in the 1280s.[619] Using a wide range of original documents, Campbell demonstrated that the use of a range of innovative, but largely non-technical, approaches led to consistently high yields per acre, for instance 14.8 bushels on average, comparable to yields obtained in the late eighteenth century. This level can be compared to the 7.6 bushels generated on the Bury manor of Hinderclay.[620] A major innovation in land management was the elimination of fallow or reducing it to a 6-month period only. Accepted rotation for crops for much of the early medieval period was to leave one-third of the land fallow each year. Evidence of wide use of this three-year rotation was documented for large estates such as the Templars in a survey in 1165, and as late as the fourteenth century three-year rotation was still in use in Langenhoe, Essex. The elimination of the fallow period allowed all land to be planted with crops each year, so increasing the acreage under plough by a third without having to acquire additional land. B.M.S. Campbell quotes documents recording the elimination of fallowing on the Bigod lands at South Walsham in 1268-9 and soon after at Acle and Halvergate .[621] Evidence of a continued strategy to reduce or eliminate fallow and grow more crops on the same lands (provided the soil was nurtured) is shown in the table below.[622]

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[618] Domesday details for the four manors researched are shown in Appendix 3.
[619] Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England) 26-46.
[620] Stone, 'Medieval farm management', p.616.
[621] Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England', pp.26-46.
[622] B.M.S. Campbell.'The Regional Uniqueness of English Field Systems: Some evidence from Eastern Norfolk', *Agricultural History Review* vol.29 (1981), 16-28, Table 1.

Table 3.3: Reduction/elimination of fallow periods

Demesne	Time-span	Arable area left fallow		
		min	mean	max
Acle	1268-80	1.3%	3.15%	3.8%
Halvergate	1268-74	0	0	0
South Walsham	1270-97	0	6.8%	13.4%

Other strategies were also employed on these east Norfolk manors to improve and maintain productivity by keeping the soil in good condition. It was fertilised using a range of methods, including spreading dung from animals kept in barns to maximise collection or from sheep folded on the Breckland, and where the manor was near a larger town, use of night soil. Regular plantings of black peas restored nitrogen levels as well as providing food for animals to supplement the small amount of grazing available. These approaches were enhanced by intensive use of labour to weed the land, made possible by the large numbers of tenants on the manor.
The Bigod lands were not the only manors benefitting from these new approaches. Practices on the manors of the Benedictine Prior of Norwich at Martham and Hemsby also changed, providing a contrast with the rather more traditional approach of the Benedictines at Bury St. Edmunds and the Bishop of Winchester, as Table 3.4 illustrates:[623]

Table 3.4: Comparative yields per acre (bushels)

Crop	East Norfolk	Rimpton* Somerset	Hinderclay** Suffolk
Wheat	14.8	6.5	7.6
Barley	15.1	10.4	9.9
Oats	11.2	7.5	5.7

*Estates of the Bishop of Winchester: **Bury St. Edmunds estates

As with all figures from this period there is a margin of error, since harvests could be seriously affected by adverse weather, and aggregation can skew the data. However, there seems to be considerable evidence that east Norfolk, with its light soils and access to markets, was one of a number of localities in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in which agriculture was both progressive and

[623] Ibid., p.30; Stone, 'Medieval Farm Management', p. 616; Hinderclay was not exclusively cultivated for maximum yield, see Chapter Two, Manors. Some differences also resulted from the very fertile soil in East Norfolk.

productive.[624] Bailey's account of the manuring on Breckland estates in eastern counties supports the analysis in Campbell's research.[625]At least some of the Bigods' Norfolk estates participated in this progressive farming, making a significant contribution to the lord's income.

Norfolk - Forncett St. Martin

This was not one of the manors in the Campbell study. It was a relatively small Bigod manor of one carucate (120 acres) compared to the three manors of Acle (5 carucates), Halvergate (6 carucates) and South Walsham (4 carucates). However, F.G. Davenport's extended study showed it to have been managed using many of the strategies employed on other Bigod manors in east Norfolk. It was one of the manors visited by the Earl and Countess every three or four years and there are documentary records about buildings on the manor. The agricultural and economic strategies employed in the late twelfth century included eliminating fallow and greater use of tenant labour, and also investment in drainage, charging tenants for grazing commons and ditches and using the woods to generate underwood for sale. The care of animals was a key consideration and the tenants in charge managed to keep losses of horses and cattle to less than 4% (at a time when 'murrain' could cause losses of 25% or more).[626] The key cash crop on the manor was grain, and the account rolls show that the standard fallowing system was not being followed. The wheat, oats and barley were weeded by the tenants, who also gathered in the crop and stacked it. From 1280, tenants also threshed the grain, which gave a greater margin to the lord because the money received in commutation of labour dues was by then less than the cost of hired labour. From the late thirteenth century, low-lying wetlands were being drained and converted into meadow and the Domesday record of 12 acres of meadow had become 30 by the late fourteenth century. Dead trees and the branches and bark of those that had been felled for the repair and construction of demesne buildings were sold, supplementing the volume of underwood. While the barley yield was low, the yields for wheat and oats generally met that specified as 'expected' by Walter of Henley. [627]
Looking at the account rolls for just this one carucate of arable land and other small acreages of wood and meadow, the net profit in 1274-5 was £101.[628] The profit did fluctuate and in 1303/4 it was £79. However, the main reasons for this reduction are known: the income from grain sales reduced from £50 to £41, and there was an increase in grain purchased (£18). The index of grain prices moved down to 82 (120 in 1279), which explains the low income, but 1303 was also a year of poor harvests,

[624] Campbell, 'Eastern Norfolk', p.42.
[625] Bailey, *'A Marginal Economy?'*
[626]Ibid., p.35. For instance, in the Bungay manor accounts for 1269-70 of 8 stotts two, or 25%, died of murrain: Accounts p.12.
[627] Davenport, A *Norfolk Manor*, pp.27 and 29-30.
[628] Ibid. pp.37-43.

which meant that there was not enough, without purchases, to meet the manorial demand for food, animal feed and seed. However, looking at 1225, in that year the manor provided a profit of £56. Allowing for inflation of some 25% (Appendix 1) the adjusted profit obtained 50 years later in 1274/5 was £76, or a real rise of 36%. From the details of receipts from 1272/3 to 1302/3, in most years, between 40% and 50% of the income from Forncett St. Martin was from grain sales, with other sizeable income from rents and courts. From the sums paid as rent, it seems that the Earls continued the practice of ensuring that they received rental income, but unlike the first Roger Bigod's approach to managing the King's lands (see above), rents over these 30 years remained broadly the same rather than being significantly increased. It is possible that as these were the Bigods' own tenants, providing services to their demesne lands, bailiffs decided to maintain rents at an affordable level.

The importance of these four Norfolk manors to the Bigod fortunes can be seen from data relating to 1225. In that year it is estimated that the Earl's income from his manors was some £884.[629] The net income from the four manors, with just eleven carucates of land in total, was £186 or 21% of the total income.[630] Only Framlingham, with nine carucates (as shown below), bringing a profit of £105, approached their importance.

Breckland manors - Hockham and Kennet

These two manors, which were part of the Bigods' Norfolk estates, were included in Mark Bailey's study of agricultural practices on Breckland manors in the later Middle Ages.[631] He identified a range of specialist techniques and strategies used on these estates, which ensured the continuing fertility and productivity of the sandy Breckland soils in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These included using a fold course system for animal grazing on fallow land and digging pits to extract chalk for marling, so ensuring that the soil was manured.[632] The impact can be seen in the early fourteenth-century prices of 4d per acre for untreated land and 24d for the same land manured. Other practices included the extensive use of horses rather than oxen. A horse could easily manage the light soil, was faster and thus gave greater productivity and had a lower upkeep cost.[633] However, some of the intensive techniques applied on more fertile soils (see above) were not cost-effective, because although yields might have been increased they would not give sufficient return. Therefore, yield on its own was generally not used as a measure of efficiency on these Breckland manors.[634]

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[629] Morris, The *Bigod Earls of Norfolk* p.33; Alexander, *Framlingham*, p.22.
[630] Ibid., Halvergate £48; Forncett £56, Acle £45, South Walsham £3.
[631] Bailey, '*A Marginal Economy?*'
[632] Ibid., p. 61 and pp. 65-88.
[633] Bailey, 'A *Marginal Economy?*', p.94.
[634] See also Chapter 2, Manors.

The crops sown were carefully chosen. Though wheat could give the best prices, it did not thrive on the poor soils; for instance, at Hockham between 1250 and 1500 the main crops were rye (31.4%), barley (54.8%) and oats (13.8%). This ratio was fairly standard over the 26 manors in the study, though Kennet was one of the few to have a greater spread of crops, including some wheat as well as legumes. It may have been that some part of the manor had better soil, so allowing a greater variety of crops.[635] In common with other Bigod manors, the majority of the crop (68%) was sold.

The manors were also exploited for non-arable use and especially the cultivation of rabbits. At Kennet in 1270-9, four acres were in use as a warren producing some 414 rabbits, of which some 75% were sold and 25% sent for the lord's consumption.[636] The Breckland soils required special care and a different management approach from that which could be applied on the richer soils of much of Suffolk and east Norfolk. The adoption of this range of techniques and approaches demonstrated the flexibility of the Bigod stewards, as well as their concern to get the most out of the land.

Supplying the Earls' table

Chapter Two set out how the estates of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds were in part managed to provide the monastery with a regular supply of food as well as an income. These food farms were involved in production for consumption. Though food farms gradually declined as markets and the availability of foodstuffs grew, their demands impacted on land management on the great monastic estates well into the thirteenth century in some areas. Though economic land management was practised, the impact could be diluted by the competing requirement for food supplies.

The Bigods, like many of their peers, used manors close to their main residences to provide food for the household, but there is little evidence that this requirement was allowed to govern the crops grown as it was on the ecclesiastics' estates. Nevertheless, food supplies were requested and were significant. Though the numbers would have varied, when the Earl travelled he would have been accompanied by at least 50 people, including his personal retinue of between six and 12 knights as well as estate officials and servants.[637] The estates supplied fairly simple fare of fish, meat, beer and bread for employees, but the entourage and guests of a lord when he stayed at his castle or his manors would expect a wide variety of game as well as wheat bread, a range of meats such as pork, beef and mutton and wine as well as good ale. For instance in 1292-3, local estates in Suffolk provided Roger Bigod, by then Earl Marshal, with 64 quarters of malt, the carcasses

[635] Bailey, '*A Marginal Economy?*,' p.139, Table 3.12 and p.141, Table 4.11.
[636] Ibid., p.252,Table 4.16.
[637] *Medieval Framlingham*, pp.26-29.

of 2½ oxen, 114 sheep for mutton and 36 pigs, as well as calves, geese, cheese butter, milk and two tuns of cider.[638] However, unlike the single destination of the Abbey for the Bury St. Edmunds estates, the Bigods used several residences and requisitioned supplies from time to time to be sent from different manors when they travelled to stay at a different castle or manor complex.
Nobles had always consumed conspicuously, not least since this was one of the ways in which their status was defined.[639] This continued through later centuries: the practice of serving rich foods to their guests was still evidenced in eighteenth-century garden banquets and still later by Victorians who grew exotic fruits such as pineapples on their estates as evidence of their wealth and standing.[640] Nevertheless, in 1295-6 accounts for 17 of the Bigods' Suffolk and Norfolk manors showed that, despite individual variations and supplying the lord's table, overall the estates yielded over half of the Earl's total income from a mix of sales of crops and livestock, one-third of the rental income and 16% of the income from manor courts.[641] Clearly, the manors were not managed primarily as sources of food for the family; and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was mostly their manors in Suffolk that provided food for the Framlingham tables.

Suffolk manors

Framlingham

The Bigods held 11 large and strategically important manors in east Suffolk, including Walton, Bungay, Staverton, Kelsale and their main manorial seat of Framlingham (Figure 3.1).[642] Framlingham Castle was a major consumer of produce when the Earl was in residence. Yet despite the need to supply the castle, Framlingham manor continued to provide significant sums of cash for the Bigods each year. In 1286 the demesne provided a total income of £150 10s ½d, making this the most valuable of the Bigod Suffolk manors. Framlingham's accounts show how the manor was managed to generate this profit. On the death of Hugh Bigod in 1270, the land reverted to the King and an Extent was prepared to determine the value.[643] This set out the income generated from various sources on the Bigod

[638] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.203
[639] Crick and Van Houts, *A Social History of England*, p.101.
[640] K Fellus, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden* (London and New York: I B Tauris & Co., 2016), p.159.
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[642] Appendix 3 gives the *Domesday Book* details for Framlingham Manor.
[643] The Extent was a formal document required after the death of the landholder to list the value of an estate for tax purposes. On receiving this information the king would charge a relief (an early form of inheritance tax), and on receiving homage from the new earl, grant the land to the heir.

holding and should have included land, buildings, labour services and rents paid in kind, valuing these factors to arrive at an annual income. However, the seignurial officials had an interest in understating values and just two comparisons between the 1270 Extent and the accounts of 1286-7 indicate how successful they were. The 1270 list shows mills worth £3, but in 1286 a rent of £16 is shown; the rental income from tenants is shown as £13, while in 1286 it was £29.
As with his Norfolk manors, the Earl's stewards invested in the land, and there is a record of a new windmill being built at Saxted in 1286-7 at a cost of £9 13s 10½d, using some 140 days of free labour from customary tenants.[644] There is no separate account for the new mill to enable an assessment of its value, but in the accounts of 1324, the rental income for three mills is shown as £23.[645] If this was a steady income, the costs for this one mill would probably have been recovered in less than two years. [646]

The parks

The Great Park and four additional woods in Framlingham manor were used for a wide range of economic purposes as well as to provide the opportunity for hunting and a supply of venison, partridges and rabbits for the table.[647] Wooded areas were retained for the deer, but more open areas of wood-pasture were managed to provide grazing for cattle, horses, sheep and pigs. Tenants were charged for use of this land. A measure of the value put on these parks was that in 1287 two parkers were recorded as looking after the Great Park, and additional work days were allocated to the four other parks.[648] The trees in some parts of woods were also used for coppicing and the woods used to collect underwood, though this is not specifically separated in the accounts for 1286 as it is in the Extent of 1270. Even the ditch was utilised to provide additional grazing.
There is no detailed record to compare this multiple use of the Earl's parks with the King's forests, which by the end of the reign of Henry II covered almost a third of the country.[649] However, the frequent reference to gifts by the King of large trees (for instance to the Abbey church at Bury to repair the tower) and of his gifts of venison suggests that royal parks had less wood pasture and the trees were allowed to grow rather than being coppiced.

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[644] Ibid., p.21; A customary tenant rented some land and often a small tenement. He owed rent which could be part cash, part in kind and part a range of services working on the lord's land.
[645] *Medieval Framlingham*, p.53.
[646] The difference of £7 between £16 in 1286 and £23 in 34, giving £14 in two years against the cost of £9 13s 10½d.
[647] The four other parks were Butrehagh, Newhagh, Bradihagh and Oldfrith.
[648] R. Liddiard ed., *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2007), p. 160, quoting PRO SC6/997/; Park works included repairing the fences and ditch and patrolling the woods to try to prevent poaching.
[649] Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, p.121. See also Chapter Four, Manors.

As in most Suffolk manors at the time, the demesne land at Framlingham was used extensively for wheat and other corn crops, which provided £26 of the income in 1286, but a mixed economy was practised. Raising animals for sale as meat yielded £27 and sale of poultry and dairy products £5. The steward's responsibility to optimise income also led to the development of a vineyard, though the records show only a '*vindinatoris'* not an output of wine.
Even the lake, as well as a defensive and decorative feature, was an economic resource supplying large quantities of fish for consumption. Traces of fishponds on the eastern edge have been identified and were probably used for raising young fish to be released into the main lake to mature.[650] There are references to the feeding of swans, which would also have been kept to provide food for the table.[651]

Bungay

Like Framlingham, the Suffolk manor of Bungay also generated a considerable income for the earls. The accounts for the manor and town of Bungay for Michaelmas 1269 to Michaelmas 1270 have been transcribed and translated and give an immensely detailed picture of how the estate was managed, the income and the expenditure.[652] The overall picture is that the manor and town generated an income of £106 2s, with expenditure (excluding money sent to the main steward at Framlingham) of £36. The manor sent £70 1s to Framlingham as net income.[653] Given that the estate of the Bigods was estimated to be worth £1067 in 1307, and allowing for inflation, this means that Bungay's net contribution represented 7% of the total in 1269.[654]
The details of income present quite a different picture from the Norfolk estates and Framlingham. Only some 30% came from a variety of agricultural sources, compared to over 50% on the Norfolk manors. The greater part, £74 12s, representing the remaining 70%, came from non-agricultural sources, including the market, market stalls and fairs which brought in £23, rents £25 18s, and courts £15 6s. A further £9 11s came from purchase (commutation) of work days not needed on the land. The activities on the manor showed how every opportunity was taken to develop income. Wood was felled, the bark and loppings sold and brushwood and wind-fallen wood harvested. Grazing was rented to tenants, including in the castle yard, apples and pears were sold from the castle garden and other land was

[650] Alexander, 'Framlingham Castle', p.30.
[651] *Medieval Framlingham*, pp.37-38.
[652] *Bungay Translations and Transcriptions from Six Original Manuscripts* (Workers Education Associates Bungay branch: Bungay, 1975). No editor or names of the translators are printed on the document, which is held in the Suffolk Records Office, Ipswich.
[653] *Account Roll Manor of Bungay*, Michaelmas 1269-70. Transcription and trans. J.Ridgard et al for Suffolk Federation of Workers' Education Association, Bungay Branch, 1975 (Ipswich Record Office). pp.4 and 8; figures adjusted to pounds and shillings.
[654] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, p.36; inflation 10%, see Appendix 1.

rented for grazing before being ploughed.[655] They sold hens and eggs, and kept geese, calves, cattle, stotts, oxen and heifers, selling them for their meat and their skins as well as using their milk to make butter and cheese.[656]
The expenses were even more detailed. The works account attached to the main roll showed how tenants ploughed, mowed, threshed and hoed, as well as brewing malt and spreading muck, as part of the services they owed.[657] The cost of key workers such as ploughmen (3s a year), a swineherd (12d a year) and dairy keeper (3s a year) were all recorded, together with the allowance for the main offices of steward (46s plus food, food for his horse and living space,) and sergeant (1s per week plus food etc.). As importantly, the rates of seeding for the various crops were recorded, such as 34 bushels of oats seeding 84 acres (1/2 bushel per acre) and 71 bushels of wheat seed 34 acres (2 per acre) enabled the steward to assess how profitable the crop growing had been. The grange account which set out the sowing data also showed the supplies sent to feed the Bigod family: it records wheat and barley sent to the Earl at Framlingham and to Kelsale and Cratford, as well as stores retained for use at Bungay.
These account details show the care that the Bigods' stewards took to optimise the income from the estate, record expenses and show how manors thrived under their good management. The steward and sergeant at Bungay would have cost at least £10 per annum, and the value of this investment needed to be demonstrated in the accounts, which were independently audited. They also show some of the ways in which manors were used for visitors, recording the visit of a fisherman, of hunters and the Earl of Gloucester. Such accounts were the lifeblood of successful manorial management and contrast with the approach of King William and his successors in the next chapter.
As well as supplying food and entertainment, some of the manors and castles had accommodation to manage the Earl's household when it visited. Ridgard quotes a total of 51 people, excluding family and servants, accompanying the Earl in 1294-5.[658] All would have needed accommodation, as would guests and their horses and servants. There would have been a need for a formal reception area, a chapel and probably a garden. The next paragraphs look at what was built on the manors to accommodate the permanent residents, the lord, his retinue and his visitors.

Manorial buildings

The Bigods are known from the manorial accounts to have stayed at their manors of Forncett St. Martin and Walton as well as in their castles of Framlingham and Bungay. Accounts record extensive complexes of buildings to accommodate in some

[655] *Account Roll Bungay*, p.2.
[656] Ibid., p.3.
[657] Ibid., pp.8-9. The works account details every work day owed to the manor by villeins and free tenants (sokemen) and how it was used or commuted for a payment.
[658] *Medieval Framlingham*, pp.48-50.

style the Earl and his family, his retainers and guests and also those who managed the manor. The arrangements were similar to those on the estates of ecclesiastics, where the abbots and bishops stayed with their guests as well as the estate steward or bailiff.[659] There are no significant physical remains of the Bigod or indeed other manorial complexes. The Bigod manorial buildings, according to their accounts were generally thatched not hung with tiles. Decorative arches and mouldings have been found on the few small manor houses in stone that have been recorded, such as at Barnack, which was a two-bay aisled hall, now demolished, and Boothby Pagnell chamber block, both dating from c.1200 (Figure 3.18).[660] The manorial working buildings would, however, have been built to a functional pattern and the whole complex would have been a series of separate structures connected by a wall for security and to prevent animals from straying in or out.

The range of buildings and their arrangement on the Bury manors were based on the practical requirements of security, services for the lord and guests and the need for buildings to support estate management, rather than any specific design concept. A similar style appears to have been adopted on the manors of Forncett, Walton and Bungay, though in the latter two cases, castles also provided some accommodation and possibly ceremonial areas.

Forncett Manor Complex

Though there are no physical remains, from late twelfth-century accounts it appears that the manor complex of buildings was extensive, 'almost palatial' by the standards of the thirteenth century.[661] The reason for the extensive Forncett complex can be deduced from the records of guests. The family stayed on the manor every three or four years and in 1273 spent nine weeks there. Their large retinue and their horses were very expensive for the estate to sustain.[662] From the records of expenditure it appears that the Earl also visited in 1281-2, 1292-3 and 1299-1300. Guests included the Bigods' steward, the auditors (who included John Bigod, the Earl's brother and the Abbot of Tintern), falconers, hunters, and clerks travelling on the Earl's business.

At that time, many manorial complexes consisted of a central hall with a chamber to one side (or above a 'cellar') and stables and service buildings, sometimes surrounded by a moat or ditch.[663] At Forncett, two sources have extensive details of building and repair costs and together these allow a reconstruction of the

[659] See Chapter 2, Manors.

[660] Meiron-Jones, ed., *Manorial Domestic Buildings*, pp.8-9.

[661] Davenport, *A Norfolk Manor*, p.20.

[662] Ibid, pp.22-24 and Appendix VIII xixv-xxvii.

[663] T. Wright,*The Homes of Other Days*, (London: Trubner & Co, 1871: reprinted Elibron Classics, 2005) p.148; Meiron-Jones, ed., *Manorial Domestic Buildings*, pp.4-5.

complex.[664] It appears that there were at least a dozen chambers and outbuildings at Forncett, the main hall and at least six barns and stables.[665] Buildings repaired include a grange, the ox stable, a dairy and pigsty, as well as a large stable for guests' horses and a room for soldiers. Living accommodation included the hall, the Earl's chamber, a knight's chamber with upper room for special guests, and a chamber for the bailiff. For the manor workers and officials, there were rooms for ploughmen and a carter and there were at least three stables. There was also a chapel and many service buildings, including kitchen, buttery, larder and bake-house as well as the farm buildings, a cattle house, grange, granary, hay-house, goose-house and hen-house. The buildings were made of clay with thatched roofs made from straw stubble, but the hall was thatched with reeds cut from the pond nearby. A wall made of clay surrounded the outer court, enclosing all the buildings, and another enclosed the part of the inner court containing the accommodation and services for the lord, guests and manor officials.

This complex was in effect a small village, providing services and acting as a central collecting point for rents and other dues. It was a much larger complex than those built by the Bury abbots at Redgrave or Worlingworth, but the layout would almost certainly have been similar.[666] The whole complex — though similar in style — was also much more extensive than many royal country residences. For instance, a house built in 1285 for Edward I in the forest of Woolmer was 72 feet long and 28 feet wide and consisted of a hall and chamber which had wooden shutters over the window, and a chapel.[667] The royal hunting lodges at Havering and Writtle were also simple; but all these catered for relatively short visits by royalty, rather than being the centre of a busy manorial complex.[668]

Walton Manor Complex

In 1086 the Bigod lands at Walton included three carucates (some 360 acres), a church and meadowland surrounded by lands that belonged to Ely Cathedral.[669] A second entry in the Suffolk *Domesday Book* (7.122) specifically states that 'over the whole of this land, St. Etheldreda has the jurisdiction except for the hall and village of Walton'. Hugh Bigod built a new stronghold in the grounds of the Roman fort on the coast, but also a manorial centre to establish an administrative focus. As at Forncett, there is no building standing, but the court rolls and manorial records of

[664] The account roll of 1272 has extensive details of the costs of maintenance and repair. Further details of the expenditure of building and repair is in Ministers' accounts 935; Davenport, *A Norfolk Manor*, Appendix VIII pp. xxxiii-x; p.21, references to Min. Accts 2,3,4,6,10,11,12,13 and 14.

[665] Davenport, *A Norfolk Manor*, Appendix V111, Account Roll of Forncett Manor for 1272-3.

[666] These were similar to the complex at Cuxham illustrated in Figure 1.10.

[667] Wright, *The Homes of Other Days*, p.152.

[668] See Chapter Four.

[669] *Domesday Book Suffolk* 7,76.

1268 and 1303 give details of repairs to a number of buildings and this provide some indication of the extensive complex there. From these accounts, buildings included a hall, chancellor's chamber, knight's chamber, the Earl's stable, a chapel, a kitchen and a garden and dovecote. Other buildings mentioned were the Earl's chamber, sergeants' stable, dairy, brew house, bakery and buttery and two granges for corn and hay.[670] In addition, records from 1273 show that many of these buildings were linked by walls enclosing the complex and creating the same effect as a fortified manor house.[671] The importance of the complex is emphasised in the records of later additions, such as a new grange made from timber from wrecks, and a timber-framed building transported from Harwich to provide housing for servants.[672] The value placed on this manorial centre by the family is also underlined by the remains of high-quality materials such as dressed Caen stone shipped from Bosham, and some fine mouldings, preserved in Felixstowe Museum. The mark of the mason, 'Master Ralph', who may be the same as the Master Ralph who organised work on Chepstow Castle, has been discovered on these mouldings. He was recorded as having travelled to see the Earl in 1291 and seems to have supervised much of Roger's building work.[673] The indications from the documents are that this complex took the same linear form as Forncett.

Bungay

The 1269 accounts reveal the difference in complexes when accommodation and a central hall were already in existence in the castle bailey. They show that manorial management maintained the castle structures, for instance re-roofing the chapel and repairing the Earl's chamber and the kennels. The steward also had responsibility for keeping the market buildings and the tollhouse in good repair and constructing and maintaining buildings around the manor. Expenses were detailed for a new house 40ft long, made from laths and plaster, thatched with rushes and with hinged doors. No other details were given, so it is not clear if this was additional accommodation or a new grange.[674] However, the total cost was listed as 26s 7d, considerably more than other contemporary records which quote a cost of 10s for tenant cottages, and this, with its size, probably means that it was intended for one of the higher status employees of the manor.[675]
While demonstrating the entrepreneurship to build up and exploit large land holdings and taking every opportunity to increase income, the Bigods did not develop the towns in their estates in the same manner as many of their peers.

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[670] Fairclough, 'Bigods at Walton Hall', pp.409-410.
[671] Ibid., p.409.
[672] Ibid, p. 410.
[673] Ibid.
[674] *Account Roll Bungay*, p.10.
[675] See Chapter One

Town development

The broad economic background to the development of towns in the two centuries after the Norman Conquest is detailed in Chapter One, including evidence that lords took many initiatives to support towns and so to profit from trade. These included establishing fairs and markets, financing new or expanded religious houses, setting out sites for purchase by potential town merchants and, more rarely, building houses. While the king founded the majority of towns before 1086, over the next two hundred years it was the lords who founded the majority (some 170).[676] Not all were boroughs and not all were new foundations, but all had the characteristic mix of non-agricultural occupations, centres that were more densely populated than rural villages and good links to their hinterlands and trading networks.

Approaches to the founding and development of towns by noble families varied. For the Bigods, only the last Roger in the final decade of the thirteenth century sought to expand towns to increase their value to his estate. He established a six-day Michaelmas Fair at Framlingham and at Bungay sought an extension to the fair, paying the King 40 marks (£26 13s 4d) for the grant. [677] This was recognition of the potential value to the town in increased rents, tolls on trade and the profits of justice.[678]

The potential value of a market town could be as high as £9 per acre compared to £1 if the same area was used for agriculture.[679] The exploitation of such potential for additional income was most clearly seen in Cornwall, where the great landholders such as the Earl of Cornwall founded 19 new towns by 1300 as profitable sources of revenue.[680] However, the value of arable land in Suffolk was generally higher than in many parts of England and the comparative additional value of a market likely to be less than in areas such as the West of England where the arable land was of poorer quality[681]. The approach of the Bigods needs to be seen in the context of Suffolk and the actions of other ecclesiastic and lay lords in the county.

Suffolk was different from many counties of England in that, in 1300, of its 12 towns of any size only the King's town of Orford was 'planted', that is specifically developed by laying out building plots and/or providing new facilities such as a port. This compares with Norfolk, where three of seven towns were planted and Essex,

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[676] S. Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p.53; Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp.145-6; Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England, Towns*, pp.268-270.

[677] *Medieval Framlingham*, p.17.

[678] Bailey,*Medieval Suffolk*, p.122.

[679]Ibid., pp.23-4.

[680] Beresford, *New Towns*, p.401.

[681] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.74; Dyer, 'Small towns 1270-1540' in *Cambridge Urban History*, p 510.

where four of nine towns were planted.[682] Suffolk was also relatively urbanised, with a high population density and a high ratio of markets, though relatively few towns had burghal status.[683]

The towns of Bury St. Edmunds and Clare, which were both near the Bigods' town of Framlingham, were supported by their landlords. At Bury, a middle–sized rather than small town, the aim of increasing revenue was a major reason why the Abbey sought charters for a market and fair, built houses on town land and constructed the town walls.[684] At Clare, while the castle stewards bought the majority of their fine goods from London markets, they also bought 'baskets of fish and meat' from their local town.[685] The Clares also funded a new priory, which brought people and trade to the town.

Potential Bigod Towns

On the estates of the Bigods, there were three towns which had potential for additional development. Two, Bungay and Framlingham, would be classed as small towns, though the third, Thetford, was much larger. However,the Bigods only gained control of a significant part of the area of Thetford at the end of the eleventh century. The next paragraphs examine these three towns, with the possible reasons, which differ in each case, why the Bigods took limited action. Where relevant, similar and neighbouring towns developed by other lay lords are compared.

The smallest town was Framlingham, which had a local market and a population of some 600.[686] Bungay was a flourishing river port with a population of between 650 and 750 when the Bigod family acquired it in the mid-1150s and built their new castle there.[687] Thetford was the largest of the three towns, with a population of some 4000 in 1086, good communications and established trade. It was one of the larger and more important towns in England at that time and the Bigods were tenants-in-chief for the town and one-third of the area by the end of the eleventh century.[688]

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[682] Beresford, *New Towns*, pp.271-2. The size of Essex and Suffolk was broadly similar, 960 to 940 acres, though Norfolk was much larger at 1300 acres.

[683] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.118. 10 sites per 100 square miles compared to a national average of 3.7.

[684] See Chapter Two.

[685] Dyer, 'Small towns' in *Medieval Urban History*, p.518; Miller and Hatcher, *Towns*, p.280.

[686] Population estimates are broad rather than accurate, based on *Domesday Book* lists of heads of households (villeins, smallholders etc,) and a multiplier of between 3.5 and 6. Here a multiplier of 5 has been used. Postan, *The Medieval Economy*, pp.28-9, uses 3.5-5.4 and Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, pp.242-3, uses 4.5.

[687] See earlier paragraphs.

[688] Reynolds, *History of Towns*, p.35.

Framlingham

At Framlingham, despite the fact that the Earls were in control of most of the town and large tracts of the surrounding area, they took none of the recognised actions to support its development, such as applying for a fair or financing a new religious house. It was the most valuable single manor that the Bigods held in Suffolk, valued at £105 in 1225, with only Walton (£65) Bungay (£60) and Kelsale (£57) approaching its income.[689] When the first Roger was fortifying the site and constructing his buildings at the end of the twelfth century, the town had already been established for some time. From the *Domesday Book* entries for tenants, on the basis of a standard family of five, there were some 600 inhabitants.[690] There was a market, though its establishment is not documented and the earliest reference was in a post mortem inquisition of 1270, where income from rents of stalls and other perquisites of the market was shown as 40 shillings. [691]

Though not on a major road route, Framlingham appears to have developed as a rural market, providing a centre for the extensive arable lands surrounding it. One factor that may have been seen as a barrier to further development was its limited access to water transport. No mills are recorded there in *Domesday Book* and the Bigods built a windmill at Saxtead Green in 1286, possibly to compensate for this lack.[692] However, by the end of the thirteenth century the last Roger Bigod clearly did not see this as a problem, as he established a six-day Michelmas fair.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, the Bigods castle building did have an impact on the town, because although the main castle site was on a hill above it, land taken to construct the perimeters encroached on the market-place and church, and these had to be replaced. The original triangular market-place was situated on sloping ground with regular blocks of property and narrow parcels of land running away from the market frontage. The shape and design of the new market-place closely resembled those at Clare and Orford.[693] While there is documentary evidence for the involvement of Bury Abbey in building houses for rent, building the town walls and recognising the economic value of the market, there is none to show that the Bigods took any part in restructuring the market at Framlingham. Yet the income to the Bigods from Framlingham market was not atypical: 40 shillings for tolls in 1270, likely to have been understated by some 50% as the Extent was a taxation record, had risen to a more credible £8 in 1286-7, on a par with Newmarket (£5 in the 1280s), and Woodbridge (£4 in the 1340s).[694]

Just as the Earls seem to have ignored the town when their castles were built, there is no record of support to construct a new parish church. The current church at

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[689] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk* p.33.

[690] *Domesday Book* entries in Appendix 3; *Medieval Framlingham*, p.2.

[691] *Medieval Framlingham*, p.20.

[692] Ibid, p.14.

[693] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.125.

[694] *Medieval Framlingham*, p.23; Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.123.

Framlingham was rebuilt by the Dukes of Norfolk after the last Bigod died without heirs and they took over the estates and castles. They sponsored extensive rebuilding in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The church is thought to be located where a new parish church was built in the thirteenth century to replace the chapel in the Castle grounds. The orientation of this church, with its main axis 35-40 degrees south of east, may indicate that it was 'fitted in' to an existing site.[695] The charters of the Bigods show the many gifts they made to abbeys, priories and churches in other parts of Suffolk, but there is nothing recording donations to Framlingham Church.[696] The first Roger, in fact, diverted the income from Framlingham to his new priory at Thetford.

There are several possible explanations as to why the Bigod Earls did not take the opportunity to take action to develop the town and generate additional income from the market until the late thirteenth century. The first is that unlike their peers in the region, the Warennes and Clares, the Bigods did not settle for any length of time on one location for their main residence. It was common for a high-ranking earl to have at least two major centres as established caputs (for instance the Warennes at Lewes and Castle Acre), and records show that such centres were frequently involved with the local town, and often associated with establishing a new or extended religious institution.[697] However, successive generations of the Bigod family appear to have transferred their interest to different locations rather than embracing multiple centres. The first Roger chose to build at Framlingham, but invested in a high-profile priory at Thetford rather than seeing to establish a new religious institution at Framlingham. This may have been because Thetford at the time was a major town and Roger may have believed that financing a priory there had more kudos than one in the much smaller Framlingham.

Roger's second son, Hugh, who inherited the family land in 1120, chose to build at Bungay. Hugh rebuilt some of the timber buildings at Framlingham in stone, but focussed most of his energy and money on erecting a strong stone tower and massive encircling defences on a site in the centre of land granted to him at Bungay by Stephen in the 1150s. Losing his castles in the second baronial war with Henry II, Hugh then took no part in town or any other development.

Hugh's son Roger decided to rebuild at Framlingham, rather than at Bungay. Nevertheless, having inherited Welsh estates from the Earl Marshal, the family focus shifted again and the last Roger built extensively at Chepstow Castle and invested in Tintern Abbey.[698] He did little at Framlingham, though he did build a new gatehouse and walls at Bungay in 1294. The major change in emphasis from earl to earl may indicate that no generation felt loyalty to a particular area or town.

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[695] Alexander, *Framlingham Castle*, p.38.

[696] Donations to religious institutions, including Rochester and Blythburgh priories, churches in Norwich and Tintern Abbey, are recorded in charters from 1107 to 1301: N. Atkins, '*The Bigod Family: An Investigation into their Lands and* Activities' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Reading, 1979), Appendix A, pp.264-340.

[697] See below.

[698] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, p.185.

Their moves from town to town contrasted with the Clares at Clare and the Warennes at Castle Acre. The Warennes developed two main centres, one at Lewes and the other at Castle Acre, built extensively in each place and at Castle Acre financed a new priory and castle walls.
At Framlingham, with many markets nearby offering competition and with limited transport, taking actions designed to expand the town may not have looked particularly attractive. This is supported by the fact that the last Roger sought to develop its annual fair rather than extend the existing market opportunities. He obviously believed that there was only limited scope for the town to expand.

Bungay

Just as at Framlingham, there seems to have been no attempt to boost the market at Bungay, though the Bigods did arrange for a new convent in the town. Bungay town was established within a large block of cultivated land, and was probably an early shire. A Roman road (now the A143) passed through the town and the River Waveney provided excellent transport, both to the coast and from the hinterland. It was a thriving small market town in 1086, having had several market grants, and was recognised as a borough in 1228.[699] Even more than at Framlingham, the Bigods' new castle, built in the mid-twelfth century, disrupted the original street system, reducing the size of the market-place and forcing the construction of a new road connection across the marshes.[700] Again, there is no record that the family contributed to redeveloping the town around their castle. Hugh Bigod's wife Gundreda did put some investment into the religious life of the town: she turned the main town Church of St. Mary into a Benedictine nunnery in 1160. As with other developments of religious institutions, the new nunnery would have brought some trade and visitors to the town, though not as much as the new priory supported by the Clares near their castle. [701] This investment was not, however, all that it seemed, since the family appear to have been remarkably sparing of their own revenues. They allocated the tithes of six churches as support to the nunnery, so protecting their own wealth while secular clergy were left with a significantly reduced income.[702] The contrast with their ancestor Roger is considerable, since he donated extensive land and income as well as tithes to his foundation of Thetford Priory.
The income that the Bigods received from Bungay town included the usual sources of market rents, income from fairs and the profits of the town court. In 1269, this amounted to £20 1s 6d, more than at Framlingham and broadly comparable to

[699] K. Penn, 'Bungay and its Early History', *The Quarterly Journal of Norfolk Archaeology and History Society Research Group no. 29* (1998) 3-7.
[700] Ibid, p.6.
[701] See next sections.
[702] British History Online, *Bungay*, p.3, www.british.history.ac.uk [accessed 13.9 2016].

income from other towns of a similar size. However, as at Framlingham there is no evidence that they sought to encourage additional investment in the town.
One possible reason why their support for the market at Bungay was negligible is that, similarly to Framlingham, their income from the agricultural land of Bungay in 1199 was £80 7s 1/2 d, some four times as great as their income from the town.[703] It may have been that given this disparity, and the margins to be made from crops and animal husbandry, the family did not think it was a good use of land to allocate it for burgesses to rent to increase trade. This approach is more surprising at Bungay than at Framlingham, given the town's excellent transport links and extensive hinterland for attracting trade. Again, the fact that the last Earl sought to extend the annual fair probably shows where he thought the potential for generating additional income lay. This relative lack of interest in the town contrasts with that of their peers, the lords of Clare.

A comparison with the town of Clare

Clare was a small town on the Suffolk/Essex border on the banks of the River Stour, some 14 miles from Bury. It was broadly comparable in size to Bungay, had good transport links and served a rural hinterland as a local market. As at Bungay, the castle was in the town, but, unlike the Bigods, the Clare family appears to have supported the town in a number of ways.
The town and surrounding manors were granted to the family by William the Conqueror, and as early as 1090 there is documentary evidence that the Clares used it as a residence.[704] The family built a large motte with a stone keep at the top and the main castle buildings were constructed within an extensive inner bailey. The town was settled in what could be regarded as the outer bailey of the castle. None of the castle buildings remain, but manorial accounts from the early fourteenth century detail repairs undertaken and give a picture of an extensive complex. This included a great hall, the old hall, the Lady's great chamber, a chapel and various chambers for clerks, esquires and servants as well as service buildings such as a buttery, kitchen pantry, larder, oven and a laundry.[705] It is probable that as at Bungay and Framlingham the constant repair and servicing of the castle and its buildings contributed to the town's prosperity, not just by providing employment but by requiring a supply of common building materials such as spike nails, locks, hinges and tiles. As at Bury St. Edmunds, these would have been available in the local market.[706]

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[703] 'Account Roll Bungay.
[704] G.A. Thornton, *A Short History of Clare, Suffolk* (published 1946, 1963; online) http://www.clare-uk.com/cgi-bin/sitewise.pl?act=sect&s=116&id=clare p.3 [accessed 12.11.2016]
[705] *Elizabeth de Burgh*, Household and other records, pp.63-4.
[706] Ibid.

The Lords were often in residence, especially when Elizabeth de **Burgh** had her Suffolk lands restored in 1322.[707] Their wealthy lifestyle involved huge effort and expenditure, including housing and feeding a household numbering at least 100 and 200-300 estate management officials.[708]

The series of accounts that survive from Elizabeth's years at Clare reveal that the business the castle generated included buying large quantities of malt barley for beer, bringing 209 pigs to be made into bacon and purchasing 198 oxen for the household.[709] The accounts also show that 149 deer carcases were used, some by the household and others sent by the Lady as gifts. These were taken from the parks near Clare, which were managed and maintained by the family, again requiring services from townspeople for fencing, ditching and for the hunts. More specialist items, for example claret and spice, were bought from London markets or fairs such as that at Bury St. Edmunds, but food staples such as wheat and barley were obtained from the Clare market as well as the Clare manors.[710] One of the differences between Clare and Bungay is that the Clare household was always larger than that of the Bigods at Bungay, and the scope for supporting the town through purchases therefore greater.

In addition to employment and trade opportunities, the town's prosperity was increased when in 1248 Richard, the eighth Lord of Clare, invited the Austin Friars to found their first English priory there. The area where the Friars established their buildings was to the south of the castle and so did not take any land from or disrupt the town's trade and communities. The development was on a much larger scale than the nunnery at Bungay and appears to have been more integrated with the town, as many local people left bequests to the friars. None of the medieval buildings have survived, but like the priory at Thetford, the priory at Clare would have generated additional trade for the town.

The Clares' support for and interest in the town did not bring them spectacular economic profits, unlike the significant income that St. Edmund's Abbey received from the town of Bury. The revenue from stalls and fees in 1262 was £15. This was lower than the £20 income the Bigods received from Bungay market, though higher than the average market revenues of between £5 and £10 in small towns. In terms of effort per pound, supporting the town was much the easier option.[711] The Clares' approach, which also guaranteed a pool of loyal employees and access to basic stores and supplies, would seem to be both pragmatic for them and beneficial to the town, rather than driven only by financial considerations.

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[707] Elizabeth de Burgh was the youngest daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford (d.1295), married to Roger Damory and heir to the major part of the Clares' holdings in eastern England.

[708] Elizabeth de Burgh, *Household and other records*, pp. 17 and 19.

[709] Ibid., pp.2 and 55.

[710] J. Ward, 'Noble Consumption in the14th Century: supplying the household of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (d.1360)', *PSIAH* vol. 41 part 4 (2002), pp. 447-460.

[711] To obtain income from the town, all that had to be done was to collect rents and tolls and organise a court.

Thetford

Turning to Thetford, a much bigger town than Framlingham, Bungay or Clare, there were both practical and economic reasons why the Bigods did not do more to support development in Thetford, even at the end of the thirteenth century when the last Roger was seeking to improve returns from Framlingham and Bungay. The town was established by the Saxons largely on the Suffolk side of the Little Ouse which formed the boundary between Suffolk and Norfolk. It covered about 75 acres, with a central bridge that took the Icknield Way across the river in Saxon times and formed the nucleus of the town.[712] It therefore had good water and road links to its hinterland. Around the year 900 it grew to be a large manufacturing and commercial centre, spreading to the Norfolk side of the river and defended by a bank and ditch, the river itself forming part of its defence. A mint was established in the 950s.[713] The late tenth and eleventh centuries were the high point of the town's prosperity and by 1086 the population had reached some 4000, one of only 15 towns in England to reach this size.[714] Soon after the Conquest, a motte was raised within the Iron Age defences: with a diameter of 100 m and height of 20m, it was the second largest in England.[715] Together with a strong defence and flourishing economy, Thetford gained prestige and income when the Bishop of Norwich was based in Thetford, using the Church of St. Mary as his cathedral from 1071-1094. However, after losing the fight to establish the centre of his see in Bury St. Edmunds, the Bishop of Norfolk established himself in Norwich, building his new cathedral there.[716] This, together with the rise of King's Lynn, which was strongly supported by the Bishop as a thriving port, led to a decline in Thetford's prosperity in the last decade of the eleventh century.[717] Furthermore, at this time the main part of Thetford moved to the Norfolk side of the River Ouse, though nobody has as yet been able to establish why this took place: there is no obvious evidence of attack, flooding or other physical disaster.[718] At this time the first Roger Bigod was seeking to demonstrate his rank, wealth and position as an establishment figure in England. He sought a location which he could develop as a caput, building a fortified manor house and creating an appropriate landscape.[719] Despite its size, he did not

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[712] The Icknield Way was an ancient pre-Roman path connecting the Dorset coast (Ivinghoe Beacon) to Thetford along the chalk Ridgeway.

[713] Excursions, *PSIAH* XXXIX Part 2 (1988).

[714] Reynolds, *History of Towns*, p.36.

[715] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, p.151; G.M. Knocker 'Excavations at Red Castle, Thetford' *Norfolk Archaeology* 34 (1966-9), 119-86, p.151.

[716] See Chapter Two.

[717] At Lynn, a church and priory were founded by Herbert Bishop of Norwich and c.1095 at the request of the men of the town of Lynn, a Saturday market and fair were granted; V. Parker, *The Making of Kings Lynn,* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1971), p.21.

[718] B.K. Davison, 'The Late Saxon town of Thetford: An Interim Report on the 1964-6 excavations,' *Medieval Archaeology 11* (1967), 182-206.

[719] See castle building paragraphs in this chapter.

choose Thetford and one of the key reasons was almost certainly that Thetford was in decline.

A second and more compelling reason for Roger Bigod not supporting Thetford was the complex land holdings in the area. This meant that he did not have full control of development land for building, or of rents and market areas.[720] The complexity of land holdings is illustrated by the Norfolk *Domesday Book*, which has five entries for Thetford, four of them covering the greater part of Thetford and belonging to the King. Nevertheless, Roger Bigod did hold the town with its 720 burgesses on behalf of the King, with a small estate of some two carucates where Roger was both lord and tenant.[721] At the end of the eleventh century the King had also transferred to Roger an additional one-third of his land on the Norfolk side, so Roger had substantial interest in the town. However, the Earl was still only partially in control of the area and its surroundings.[722] It is likely, that with limited control over the land, Roger chose to advertise his wealth and standing, not by building a caput or setting out additional land in the town for potential new burghers to rent, but granting much of his land for development of a new Cluniac priory.

Earl Roger obtained permission from Henry I and the agreement of Archbishop Anselm and the Bishop of Norwich to begin his foundation, probably in 1103/4. This was a very prestigious development. A charter was drawn up to support the new foundation, granting tithes from many churches, including Framlingham, several land holdings and rents as well as gifts of eels and herrings.[723] The original site was planned to be on Bigod land in the town, based on the church of St. Mary, but this was too cramped, and the Earl agreed that the site should be moved to his land on the Norfolk side of the river. The foundation stones were laid by the Earl with the Bishop of Norwich in 1107, just weeks before Roger died. The new church was completed in 1114 and the prior and twelve monks from the English Cluny 'mother house' at Lewes moved in. Construction of other monastic buildings continued for the rest of the century and Roger's heirs continued to support the monastery for the next hundred years.[724] Their foundation at Thetford was in marked contrast to their lack of support for the church at Framlingham and their much smaller financing of the convent at Bungay.

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[720] As a comparison, in Bury St. Edmunds, the Abbey was in control of the greater part of the town, within and outside its walls.

[721] *Domesday Book*, *Norfolk* Parts 1 and 2, P. Brown Ed, (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984),210; 1,212; 1,70; 1,169; 9,1. www.opendomesday.org.place [accessed 29.10.2016].

[722] Atkins, *The Bigod Family*, pp.82-3.

[723] Ibid., pp.82-3 and Appendix A Charters 1-4).

[724] F. Raby and P.K.B. Reynolds, *Thetford Priory*, *Norfolk* (London: HMSO, 1946).

Some conclusions

The Bigod castles

The Bigod castles illustrate the many reasons why nobles built castles in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. All three of the castles fulfilled a key function: domination of the local area. Walton provided a stronghold in the south, Bungay commanded the Earl's holdings in the north of Suffolk and Framlingham acted as manorial centre for extensive holdings as well as proclaiming the dominance of the family in central Suffolk. There is so little evidence for the castle at Walton that it is difficult to be certain about its history. All that can be said is that it, and the extensive manor house built next to its walls, provided a manorial centre for the Bigod estates. However, both Bungay and Framlingham demonstrate the changes in design of castles that evolved following the first century of Conquest.

The design of Bungay Castle reflected the *donjon* of continental castles, when highly visible towers were essential elements of promoting power and influence. They fulfilled the function of being seen to defend territory, as epitomised by the Conqueror's motte and bailey castle at Hastings.[725] The differences were that Bungay was built in stone, with a great tower as its centrepiece even though most accommodation was still in the bailey. When faced by the King's forces, Hugh preferred to give up rather than defend his castle.

Whether Framlingham could have resisted a siege despite its slightly questionable defences can only be a matter for conjecture, but it was not the lack of a central tower that led Roger Bigod to surrender. Nor, it seems, did this unusual design reduce the Earl's ability to entertain his peers, since he could offer them fine dining in the new west hall as well as plentiful hunting in the Great Park and other parks nearby.[726] Because of its location and lake, Framlingham was a castle of splendour and visual drama. It dominated the landscape and impacted the layout of the town and its church.[727] Like their peers, the Bigods moved around their estates, staying in different complexes and castles. However, it seems that Hugh made Bungay his principal residence while his son Roger settled on Framlingham. Their apparent initial reluctance to spend the money to create a caput may be a rare instance of financial prudence. Their approach contrasts with that of the kings, which is explored in the next chapter.

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[725] *Bayeux Tapestry*, Introduction and trans. J. Thorpe (Chatham: W & J Mackay, 1979). Plate 52.
[726] *Medieval Framlingham*, Appendices A and C.
[727] See section on towns.

The Bigod estates

Evidence from manorial accounts demonstrates that the Bigods were concerned to optimise income from their estates, as were the monks of Bury Abbey. The detailed research above covers 25% of the manors the Bigods held in demesne in 1225 and 30% of their income, and it is likely therefore that the energy they put into managing all their estates was similar.[728] They rose, not quite from rags to riches, but from having little to enjoying substantial wealth. They never reached the rank of the super-rich, such as a Gilbert of Clare or Richard of Cornwall, but given that in a population of some four million perhaps 20,000 households, some 100,000 people, had incomes of between £10 and £100, they were in the top 1%. The great majority of their income had to be derived from their manors.[729] Their estate buildings, while sometimes more extensive than those of the Abbots of Bury or the Kings' hunting lodges in Essex, were built on traditional lines, largely linear and surrounded by fences or walls to protect both the residents and their animals.[730] The approach of the Bigods and the Bury monks contrasted with the approach of the Kings, as Chapter Four sets out.

The Bigod towns

As we have seen, there were a number of reasons why the Bigods did not seek to expand trade in the towns on their estate. These included the quality of their agricultural land and the income from it, and, in the case of Framlingham and Thetford, other physical factors potentially restraining development. For the Bigods, this was probably compounded by their moving from place to place without, it appears, settling on any one town. This was different from their peers, such as the Clares who continued to occupy their major centres at Tonbridge and Clare. The Bigods seem to have shifted focus from Framlingham to Bungay and back again. At the same time, the actions taken by the last member of the dynasty to add annual fairs may have been recognition that additional income could be generated from market towns.
This contrasts with how the Abbey managed the development of Bury and sought to increase income from it. A different approach again seems to have governed royal attitudes to towns. This is explored in the next chapter.

[728] Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk*, p.41.
[729] They did earn income as sheriffs and later as Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk,
[730] Hunting lodges are examined in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROYAL BUILDINGS AND ESTATES IN ESSEX

The management of their Essex estates by the Norman and Angevin kings differed, in many ways significantly, from that of the Abbots of Bury St. Edmunds and the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk. There were also differences in their approach to town development and to building. Looking at their buildings first, only one royal castle was built in Essex, the early castle at Colchester; one royal hunting lodge was maintained and a second built, but no complexes were constructed on the estates. Although Colchester had some of the same functions as baronial castles, its design and use were different. Built at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, the castle resembled the European *donjon*, focussed on defence but also functioning as a symbol of power and authority.[731] It contrasts with the late twelfth century royal castle at Orford in Suffolk and with Framlingham Castle, built by the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk. Colchester Castle was rarely visited by royalty, falling into disuse in the thirteenth century, while the baronial castle of Framlingham was regularly lived in by the Bigod earls and later by Margaret Brotherton and her descendants, the Mowbrays and Howards.[732]

Almost nothing survives of the two hunting lodges in Essex at Havering and Writtle. However, the outlines of their layout can be reconstructed from archaeological and documentary evidence. Both were built as a collection of primarily single-storey buildings including a ground floor hall, and were close to royal forests, giving access for hunting.[733] However, neither appears to have been built as a manorial centre, as were the complexes on the Bury and Bigod estates. There were no other royal buildings in Essex. The Norman and Angevin kings did not become associated with particular areas, except perhaps Winchester, the former capital of England, Westminster, which became the capital, and Windsor. In contrast, partly from necessity but also in the interest of economic exploitation, the Bigod earls and the Abbots of St. Edmunds Abbey *w*ere closely identified with their estates. They built more, including manorial complexes which they also used as residences, they visited more often and developed good farming practices. Both groups showed an interest in being seen to support their tenants. The Bigods supported convents, priories and local churches. These points are explored in the following sections.

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[731] Creighton, *European Castles* , p.29 and Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p.66.

[732] Stacey, *Framlingham Castle*, pp. 28-29.

[733] The most recent support for the theory of seigneurial ground-floor halls is by Dempsey, 'Understanding "Hall-Houses"' pp.372-399.

The kings' estate, income and lifestyle

Immediately after the Conquest the royal estate remained extensive, with King William acquiring the estates of all the Anglo-Saxon nobles who had opposed him as well as those of Harold and his brothers. However, from William onwards, royal ownership of land reduced as manors were used to reward knights and other loyal servants. Initially, the estates provided a large part of royal income to fund expenditure on defence and the costs of daily living. Towards the end of the twelfth century other forms of revenue became more important, including taxes on goods and trade (imports and exports) and other taxes such as specific borough and town levies and one-off 'aids' (another word for taxes) supporting specific needs such as a marriage or a war. These sources came to provide some 78-80% of royal income while income from estates provided around 20-22% of total cash receipts.[734] This contrasts with the great ecclesiastical estates and the lands of the secular earls, where income from the land remained a major part of their resources.[735]
Another difference was that the kings' estate income came from a large number of manors scattered throughout the country, often managed by people a king wanted to reward rather than individuals with any special aptitude or interest.[736] The more diverse holdings and very diverse stewards meant that management of the land to optimise income and crops was more difficult.[737] The ecclesiastical and earls' estates tended to consist of fewer, but larger and more physically integrated, areas, enabling their stewards to manage the economy of individual estates and collect income due.[738]
These differences had a major impact on the economy of the royal estates in Essex and what was built, as will be demonstrated by the research into individual estates. However, this royal neglect, possibly indifference, also gave economic opportunities for local peasants, such as bringing land into use on the borders of the royal forests (assarting), which led to the development of large individual land holdings in estates such as Havering, rather than common fields. This in turn led to the richer peasants building farmhouses and farm complexes, often within moated structures.[739]
Documentary and archaeological evidence on the royal estates such as Great Chesterford demonstrates what the peasants built and the relationship between

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[734] R. Stacey, 'Crown Finance and English Government under Henry III 1236-1238'(Yale University doctoral thesis, Michigan: UNI Dissertation Services, 1984), p.430.

[735] See Chapters Two and Three.

[736] In 1086, as well as 31 entries for Essex, there were 122 listings for royal estates in Suffolk and 241 in Norfolk. For Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, the majority of listings (167) were in Suffolk and only 8 in Essex.

[737] Detailed under the estates.

[738] Figure 4.1 shows the *Domesday* map of Essex, with the manors and towns referred to in this chapter highlighted.

[739] 'Assarting' is the technical term for grubbing up trees and bushes from forest land so as to make it arable. It derives from the Latin s*arrire* – to hoe.

income levels and the ability to construct accommodation, so contributing to an understanding of rural housing at the levels below the earls and minor barons.

Towns

There was an equally striking difference in royal approaches to town development. In Colchester, there is no evidence that royalty built anything except the castle and additional accommodation in the castle bailey; the Moot Hall and stone houses were built by the burgesses. Only in the town of Orford in Suffolk, where Henry II built a new castle — probably to counterbalance the power of the Bigod earls — did royal involvement extend to supporting the port.
Nevertheless, merchants and burgesses in a royal town could build profitable businesses and trades using their exemptions on trading of goods and stock.[740] As will be demonstrated in this chapter, they built their great houses, often including shops, and also built shops to rent, erected civic buildings such as a Moot Hall and ran the town. There were of course some drawbacks. Kings awarded management of a manor or town to the highest bidder, allowed royal bailiffs to practise both oppression and extortion provided they delivered the expected income, and from time to time levied special taxes on the borough burgesses.[741] An example of this is the tax imposed on Colchester burgesses in 1296, of a seventh of the value of all goods and chattels worth more than seven shillings, for 'safe guarding the realm and for the war against the French'.[742] In general, however, analysis of royal towns such as Colchester shows that despite such taxes, the lack of detailed control was beneficial to economic development. The economic development of Colchester will be compared that of Bury St. Edmunds.

Royal lifestyle

One aspect of the royal lifestyle in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that affected buildings and economic development, and therefore needs to be considered here, was that all the kings travelled even more than the great lay lords. They usually stayed in their castles or hunting lodges or more substantial palaces such as those at Westminster and Winchester. Occasionally kings stayed with a local earl or at an abbey such as Bury St. Edmunds, as for instance when, as a mark of esteem, Henry II wore his crown at Bury on 19th May 1157.[743] Although the travels of the Norman

[740] See paragraphs on Colchester.
[741] R.S. Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066-1272* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p.76.
[742] G. Rickword, 'Taxation of Colchester 1296 and 1301', *ESAH* 9 (1906), 126-155.
[743] Rev. R.W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London: Taylor and Co., 1878), p.26. He was, however, charged two shillings for the crown to be brought from Winchester to Bury.

kings cannot be constructed accurately, it is unlikely that they differed greatly from their Angevin successors. The travels of Henry I, Henry II and John have been reconstructed on the basis of dates and places recorded in a range of broadly contemporary chronicles, such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum,* supplemented by data recorded on writs, charters, appointments and other state documents. As the royal administration was not at this time based in a central point but travelled with the royal entourage, formal documents often recorded where and when the charter or writ was drawn up, as well as who 'attested' it.

The records of Henry I were studied by William Farrer and the journeys of Henry II and John, both as peripatetic, were mapped by the Rev. Eyton.[744] Dates seem to be reasonably accurate, and the place of issue of many documents can largely be verified, resulting in a picture of a typical period. An example is that after December 1105, when Henry I spent Christmas at Westminster, he made a regional visit to the east of England, spent Easter at Bath and then visited Marlborough and Salisbury at Whitsuntide. He then went to France, not returning until spring 1107 for Easter at Windsor.[745] One key result of this lifestyle was that royalty were not closely associated with the lands they owned. This compounded the effect of their more widely scattered holdings, resulting in tax and rent avoidance and a lack of strong management to optimise resources.[746]

A key difference stemming from the royal lifestyle was how supplies for the king and his household were purchased. These had to be despatched across the kingdom, sometimes using nearby estates but increasingly after 1066 obtaining supplies from the nearest markets. The problems were compounded after the Conquest by the distances involved in the visits to France. This contrasts with supplies for the Bury monks, which could be delivered to one place, the monastery,from local estates or the local market. This made a major contribution to the prosperity of Bury, while there is little evidence of the royal castle having any impact on Colchester.[747]

One aspect of the royal lifestyle which also influenced the design and buildings of the kings' residences is the number of people who needed to travel in the royal entourage and how they were fed and accommodated. In the often less than peaceful times of the Norman and Angevin kings, it is likely that when the king travelled there had to be accommodation for 150-200 people. This compares with the household of 51, possibly up to 70, listed as travelling with Roger Bigod in 1294-5.[748]

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[744] W. Farrer, *An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First* (Oxford: Frederick Hall, 1919); Eyton, *Court Household*.

[745] Farrer, *Outline Itinerary*, pp.30-40.

[746] This contrasts with the approach of many of the earls such as the Clares – see Chapter Three.

[747] See below under Colchester Town.

[748] *Medieval Framlingham*, p. 48. However, the Bigod retinue would also have been smaller, because there would have been permanent cooks, bakers and brewers at the

Since there was no single place of government at this time, the much larger royal entourage would have required a wealth of different services to support the king, his family and accompanying courtiers, administrators and their attendants.[749] These would include his own household to look after the practical aspects of food, wine, wardrobe, horses, beds, linen and hunting; men-at-arms for his protection; the key figures in his administration (secretaries and treasury officials) and their servants; and several knights, earls and churchmen, each of whom would have household staff. In the excavations of hunting lodges such as at Writtle, the remains have been found of a large gatehouse for soldiers' accommodation and a kitchen, pantry and stables, and the size of the enclosure reflects the likely size of the royal entourage.[750] This number of people travelling with the king would be a practical reason for the frequency of royal travel, since for such a household, even allowing for successful hunting in the king's forests, in many areas supplies could well run low. On the sites themselves, the inadequacies of drains and possibly water supplies would mean that a stay of much more than three weeks would, in most places, be difficult to sustain.

Finally, a major impact was that the king's retinue could be a serious burden on the surrounding community, which could not support such a large number of people. This was compounded by abuses common under William the Conqueror and William Rufus. Evidence for this is that in 1106, Henry I decreed that looting by people of the court retinue would be punished by mutilation. The chronicler Eadmer writes that:

> a great number of those attending the court had made a practice of plundering and destroying everything… (they) laid waste the territory through which the king passed …made owners take goods to market to sell or even set fire to them.

He goes on to claim that:

> King Henry….relentlessly pursued all who could be found to have done any of the things I have mentioned — eyes were torn out, or hands or other limbs cut off … this deterred the rest.[751]

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castles and manors to look after the stewards and other estate servants who lived there on a permanent basis.

[749] The government and treasury did not settle at Westminster until the thirteenth century in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272). Most of these specialists would not be available in the towns and even in the cities visited by royalty.

[750] P.A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge at Writtle, Essex, 1955-57* (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, Series no. 3, 1969), p.6.

[751] Eadmer, *History of Recent Events in England*, trans. G. Bosanquet (London: The Cresset Press, 1964), pp.192-3.

Contemporary testimony also records that Henry I had clear rules about what could be accepted without payment, what must be bought and at what price.[752] This affected the services on the local manors and the loyalty commanded by the sheriffs, which was critical to the management of the royal estates but did not outweigh the problems of a disaffected community and ineffective managers. The estates selected for the purposes of this thesis illustrate many of these difficulties.

Estates selected for research

The *Domesday Book* has 31 entries for lands of William the Conqueror in Essex in 1086, from which he received rental or other income.[753] These included the towns of Maldon and Colchester, four salt houses in Thurstable and manors varying in size from ten acres in Maldon to 2400 acres in Hatfield Broad Oak.[754] The *Domesday Book* also sets out that the king's manors, including the castle, were managed on his behalf by a range of people. At the most eminent level, these included Eudo, 'a baron of wealth and power', who was the castle steward or *'custos'* of Colchester Castle from 1101 until his death in 1120 and Roger Bigod, first Earl of Norfolk, as the King's Sheriff of Norfolk.[755] At a less eminent but still important level, manors were supervised by a variety of people. These included local sheriffs, such as Picot at Great Chesterford and Peter at Witham, a priest such as Tascelin at Birchanger or a prominent citizen such as Otto the Goldsmith at Shalford.[756] These more local managers were responsible to the county sheriff, who in turn had responsibility to deliver the income which was due to the exchequer from the king's estates. In addition, at the castle and the two royal hunting lodges the stewards had responsibility for repairs, for ensuring that appropriate wine and food was ready for the king on his visits and that requests for gifts to the king's supporters were fulfilled. The diligence or lack of supervision of these agents was a factor in the development of manors (Havering is an example). William and his successors all faced a dilemma of having manors closely supervised, at significant cost, or relying on less than effective agents. The council advising Henry III recognised this, and data on a thirteenth-century experiment in management they introduced on some manors, which included Writtle, is set out below.
Four of the larger manors in Essex have been selected for initial study: Great Chesterford, Havering, Witham and Writtle.[757] The *Domesday Book* details of these manors are set out in Appendix 4 and their location in Figure 4.1. Each illustrates

[752] J.O.Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings' *EHR vol. 96* (1981) 1-36, (p.29).
[753] *Domesday Book Essex*, 1,1 - 1,31.
[754] *Ibid.*, 1,31:1,17: 1,3.
[755] J. H. Round, *The History and Antiquities of Colchester Castle* (Colchester: Benham & Co, 1982), pp.34-35.
[756] *Domesday Book Essex*, 1,9: 1,10: 1,11.
[757] *Ibid*, 1,2: 1,9: 1,4: 1,24: 1,17,17a,25, see Appendix 4.

one or more of the differences in economic and building development found on the royal lands compared to that on estates held by ecclesiastical or noble landlords. The royal estate of Great Chesterford has a small aisled hall, built by a tenant, but no major manor house or hall and no resident lord. It is a well-preserved example of an open field manor and nucleated village and, though only traces remain, has rare evidence of peasant housing.[758] It provides a comparison with the neighbouring manor of Little Chesterford, held by a lay lord. There the resident landlord built one of the earliest substantial stone manor houses. Havering has extensive evidence of what happened to the peasant economy when left alone by the royal landlord and has fragmentary evidence about peasant housing from wills. On the royal estate of Havering, local peasants were able to acquire large tracts of cheap land and, rather than build a series of tofts and crofts along a common street (a nucleated village), they developed larger complexes with a series of barns and domestic structures closer in style to the manor complexes built by the earls to manage their estates. Witham has been selected because for 60 years after 1086 it was a typical royal manor with the local sheriff collecting dues and a desultory market. Yet after 1147, when the manor was granted to the Templars, the estate, together with the Templar lands at Cressing, was developed very differently. It is an example of the difference made to the economy and buildings of an area when managed by an agent who was more directly involved in optimising income and wealth for his lords. At Cressing there is also a fine example of a medieval barn, a rare opportunity to study the process of production on which the economy depended, where castles and manor houses represent the consumption of its surplus.[759] Writtle was one of several royal manors which were the subject of a unique experiment in royal management in 1236-1238. This experiment resulted in major changes in productivity and margins not unlike those in Witham when lordship changed. It showed what could be done with good estate management, but was very rarely achieved on the kings' estates.

Towns selected for research

Two of the king's manors, Maldon and Colchester, were classified as towns in the *Domesday Book*. The king had a minor interest in Maldon, but Colchester was a royal borough and has an extensive listing at the end of the Essex section in the *Domesday Book*.[760] R.H. Britnell studied the later development of Colchester (from

[758] A 'nucleated' village describes a village where houses and gardens were clustered together, often fronting both sides of a main street with plots separated by ditches. It contrasts with isolated farmsteads scattered across a manor. Open fields were those where a number of villagers had the rights to strips of land on communal fields.
[759] E. Impey, *The Great Barn of 1425-27 at Harmondsworth, Middlesex*, (Swindon: Historic England, 2017), p.1.
[760] *Domesday Book*, *Essex* 1,17;17a; 25; B1-7.

1300-1525) and this is reflected in the section on Colchester town.[761] The town has remains of a number of town houses built in stone, which have also been the subject of detailed archaeological investigation, and the twelfth century Moot Hall, though demolished in 1843, is well documented.[762] Colchester town also provides evidence about the design of urban housing for comparison with rural housing, in particular the use of vaults, first-floor halls and the development of shops. Its town hall exemplifies the use of design and ornamentation to display wealth and power. Orford in Suffolk is used to explore further the impact of royal castle building on the trade and development of a town. The next sections set out the research into royal buildings, the selected royal manors and the town of Colchester.

The royal castle at Colchester

The construction of Colchester Castle was begun at the end of the eleventh century and it was extended at the beginning of the twelfth (Figure 4.2). Historically, there is little certainty about the reasons why the building of the castle was begun by William the Conqueror. One theory is that the castle was built as a defence against a threatened Danish invasion in 1085. This threat could have triggered the first phase of construction up to the first floor with temporary battlements, which can still be traced.[763] However, as with many stone castles in Anglo-Norman England, Colchester was not a purely military building.[764] In fact, it was only attacked once, in 1216, when the French besieged and took the Castle and King John recovered it. As well as signalling to potential attackers that there was a strong defensive capacity, building a castle also confirmed the presence of a new master. The great towers of Colchester and the Tower of London were a highly visible statement of the arrival and power of the conquering Normans, in effect 'a symbolic act of colonisation'.[765] Of 36 castles built in the first four decades after 1066, 24 were in towns that were already centres of government and power, establishing the new order but also gaining strength and legitimacy from the earlier regimes. At that time, the great towers of European castles had for at least 250 years served to emphasise the authority of the local lord: while he held the castle, no other could make a claim to his territory. As set out in more detail in Chapter Three, the pre-

[761] R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester 1300-1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[762] Crummy, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Colchester*, p.54.
[763] *Victoria County History of Essex*, J. Cooper, ed., Vol 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.243-4.
[764] R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape 1066-1500* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2nd edition 2012), p.18.
[765] Ibid., p.34.

eminent purpose of such a tower was 'its value as a statement in stone of seignurial power'.[766]

The defence or domination argument is expanded by Abigail Wheatley, who used Colchester as an illustration of three castle types she suggests need to be considered: the urban, the spiritual and the imperial.[767] Since the castle intruded into the town space as an instrument of intimidation and administrative control it could be considered urban. The ramparts enclosed the chapel of St. Helena, so it could considered as spiritual.[768] Its claim to being imperial comes from the fact that the castle was built on the foundation of a great Roman temple, used Roman fortifications and also reflected the heritage of the royal Saxon manor known to have been built in the town.[769] The basement vaults of the temple still survive under the ground floor of the tower.[770]

Through Wheatley's studies and others such as Goodall's *The English Castle,* determining the reasons for castle construction has become more complex.[771] Looking at Colchester Castle against this background, defence was possibly a major reason for its construction. Given the massive presence of the building, there is also a persuasive argument that it was built as a symbol of domination, representing the takeover of power by the Normans from both Roman and Anglo-Saxon predecessors. While the castle took some land from the town, there is no evidence quoted in the *Domesday Book* that there was extensive destruction of town houses, in contrast to land taken for the new St. Edmund's Abbey in Bury town.[772] However this may simply have been because the foundations of the Roman temple gave sufficient area for the construction of the castle. From the history of Colchester town, there is also little evidence that the castle had an impact, either positive or negative, on the economic growth of the borough. This compares with the substantial impact of the Abbey on Bury St. Edmunds, set out in Chapter Two. It is probable that one reason for this was that the castle was rarely used by royalty and therefore did not require local services or supplies. On balance, therefore, Colchester's great tower became primarily a symbol of the new Norman power, even though they were not themselves present. As Heslop claims, 'That the great keeps of London and Colchester speak an architectural language of power can hardly be doubted'.[773] That it was a potent symbol of royal power is confirmed by the fact that it was one of several castles Prince Louis captured in 1216 in his bid to

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[766] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, pp.58 and 83. See also Chapter Three, Bungay Castle.

[767] Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle*, p.39.

[768] Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, was revered for her search for the Holy Cross and invoking images of the Virgin Mary.

[769] Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle*, pp.40-42.

[770] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 61.

[771] Goodall, *The English Castle 1066-1650*.

[772] This compares with the impact of the Abbey on Bury St. Edmunds described in Chapter Two.

[773] Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep*, p.58.

establish his claim to the English throne. It was retaken by King John in the same year and thereafter, apart from its use as a prison, quickly fell into disuse.

Building the castle

Philip Drury excavated extensively at Colchester. Key stages of building have been verified by his work, and the results documented (see Figure 4.3).[774] There is little documentation about the first phase of building, but there is a record of the charter by which Henry I in 1101 granted Eudo the steward 'the city of Colchester and the tower and castle and all the fortifications of the city, as my father had them and my brother and myself'. [775] Eudo is generally credited with extending the Castle building to a second and third storey, possibly a fourth. (There is still debate about whether there was a fourth storey and if so when it was added). On his death in 1120, the Castle and town reverted to the Crown and revenues were paid to the Exchequer through the sheriff of the shire.[776]
The Pipe Rolls record that the Castle was repaired regularly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[777] King John visited the Castle four times, more frequently than any other Angevin monarch, and in 1214 sent a trusted lord, Mantel, with 22 marks to prepare the Castle for a siege by the barons. Mantel's task included purchasing eight ballistas, recruiting engineers to use these and felling wood in the royal forest to strengthen Castle defences against a potential baronial siege.[778] Eventually the siege was avoided by the King's acceptance of the terms of Magna Carta at Runnymede in June 1215. However, documentary records of expenditure demonstrate that at least until the time of King John (1199-1216) the Castle continued to be seen as a defensive stronghold.

Design

The significance of the design of Colchester Castle is that it resembled the classic *donjons* with plain exteriors which had dominated the countryside and cities of

[774] P.J. Drury, 'Aspects of the Origin and Development of Colchester Castle', *Archaeological Journal* vol. 139, 304-419. Stages in the late tenth to sixteenth century are shown in Figure 4.3.
[775] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England,* p. 61.
[776] Round, *Colchester Castle*, pp.35 and 37.
[777] *Pipe Roll 1161/2 Henry I 1218* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1966), p.67-8, £24 for repairs; *Pipe Roll 1191-2 Richard* (Lincoln: Ruddock and Sons, 1987), p.171, 35 marks to repair the castle and houses; *Pipe Roll 1195 Richard* (Lincoln: Ruddock & Sons, 1929), p.219, 25 marks to repair the castle and houses*; Pipe Roll 17 John* (London: J W Ruddock & Sons, 1964), p.62, 20 marks to repair Colchester Castle: *Pipe Roll Henry III* 1218 (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1966), p.78, 100s for repairs and the garrison; 119s 6d for repairs after the storm '*reparations palacii castri R de Colestr quod prostratum fuit per tempestatum*'.
[778] Round, *Colchester Castle*, pp.39-40: Ballistas were engines for throwing stones.

Europe for at least 250 years.[779] In England, three not dissimilar great towers were built by the Normans in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries: Colchester, the White Tower in London and Rochester. Colchester and the White Tower (see Figure 4.4) are closest in design, in that both are rectangular, have massive walls and projecting turrets at each corner and a projecting apse, a unique feature found only in these two castles in England. They also share a deep battered plinth and walls articulated by buttresses.[780] They are the largest towers built at this time, Colchester having dimensions of 33.5 x 46.2 metres (110.5 x 152.5 ft.) and the White Tower 29.6 x 36 metres (92.1 x 118 ft.). The generally accepted explanation for Colchester being so large is that it was built on the pre-existing podium of the Roman temple of Claudius and the Roman precinct walls.[781] Yet Colchester never became a major residence and was soon eclipsed in the eastern counties by Norwich Castle, with its enormous mound and highly decorated exterior (Figure 4.7) and later by Orford with its much more contemporary style (Figure 3.11). Even these, however, were rarely visited. Perhaps, as markets and warfare shifted from the North Sea towards France and Flanders, it was location rather than style which diminished their importance.

Despite the similarity in initial design, in their present form the White Tower and Colchester look very different from the outside. The White Tower is constructed from a mixture of cut stone, much of it imported from Caen, and rubble masonry while Colchester has a low broad tower in a mix of stone and re-used Roman brick. It seems likely that the only stone available to the Essex builders was from the Roman structures and that they combined this with Roman tiles and septaria.[782] Colchester's current stunted proportions are due to the demolition in the seventeenth century of the top storeys, but a striking difference, even before this, was that at least from the mid-thirteenth century the White Tower was whitewashed. The instructions were recorded in 1240 to whiten the tower inside and out.[783] No earlier documentary evidence has been found, but it is at least possible that the external walls were whitewashed at an even earlier stage to increase the impact and visibility of the building.[784] No such instruction or reference has yet been identified for Colchester Castle.

As one of the earliest Norman castles, and a symbol of Conquest, the source of its design has been discussed in scholarly literature. In particular, Impey suggests that the towers at Beaugency (Loiret) and Loches (Indre-et-Loire), both built in the early decades of the eleventh century, are patterns for Colchester and the White Tower,

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[779] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, p.50: Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep*,(Norfolk: University of East Anglia, 1994), p.57.

[780] Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England,* p.66.

[781] Goodall, *English Castle*, p. 81; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England,* p 67; E. Impey, ed., *The White Tower* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p.245.

[782] Cement stone, made from London clay: Round, *Colchester Castle*, p.77.

[783] *Calendar of Liberate Rolls Henry III* Vol 1 (1226-40) (London: Public Record Office, 1916-1964), p.459.

[784] Impey, *The White Tower*, p.144.

but that the tower at Ivry-la-Bataille (Eure) is an even closer match.[785] Described by Orderic Vitalis as 'famous, huge and very strong', there are now only ruins at Ivry but these are mirrored in these early great towers in England.[786] The remaining walls at Ivry stand on a block measuring 25 x 32 metres, and there is an apsidal projection at the north end of its east side. The details of the interior, divided into unequal parts by a spine wall, are not known, though it is probable that the apsidal projection contained the chapel. There are still arguments around whether the White Tower preceded Colchester or vice versa, but the effect of both towers, constructed in the early years after the Conquest, must have been the medieval equivalent of 'shock and awe'. In less colloquial terms 'the tower was…an elevated and iconic architectural feature that forcefully stamped the seignurial [in this case, royal] mark on the locality'.[787] Whether or not it was actually used is almost immaterial compared to its symbolic importance.

Colchester's design contrasts with that of Norwich Castle (Figure 4.7), begun only 20 years later in the 1090s. This is a 'palatial' fortress, highly decorated both externally and internally with pilasters, roll mouldings and blind arcades.[788] It illustrates the different approach of William Rufus compared to his father William the Conqueror. Heslop suggests that Norwich Castle used an architectural language of conspicuous consumption and display 'quite foreign to the Romanesque of the eleventh century'.[789]

Internally, Colchester had arrangements common in most *donjons,* with the hall, chamber and chapel integrated in one structure.[790] The internal structures are relevant in that they are an indication of the key purpose of the building. Here, as in many great towers of the future such as Castle Hedingham, Scarborough and Bungay, it was to impress.[791] Just as the size and solidity of the outside embodied strength, so the impressive internal rooms signified power and wealth. Unlike the royal hunting lodges or the manor complexes on estates, all the important areas of the Castle were on the first and second floors and approached by a stair in the south-east corner rising through all levels. This Great Stair, so called because of its width of over 4.5 metres, was one of the largest in Norman England and acted as the formal approach. On the first floor there was a great hall in the western space, and in the eastern area a smaller hall and chamber with fireplaces and garderobes for private use. The area beneath the apse is vaulted with semi-domes and barrel vault, illustrated in Figure 4.5 lower section.

On the second floor the apse contained the royal chapel and within the upper storeys were wall passages and small rooms. From the ruins that remain, it appears

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[785] Impey, *The White Tower*, p.230.
[786] *Orderic Vitalis*, M. Chibnall, ed., vol 4, p.290.
[787] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, p.61.
[788] Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep*, pp. 19-23.
[789] Ibid., p.59.
[790] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, p.58.
[791] Details in Chapter Three.

that the space for the chapel had four pilaster buttresses, a small chamber in the east wall for an altar and a drain for a piscina. There is also evidence of wall passages, possibly forming the king's private entrance to the chapel.[792] The size and complexity of these arrangements and the impression of authority and power would have been additionally awe-inspiring because the majority of buildings at this time, whether domestic or military, would have had one or at most two storeys. One of the unique features of the Castle was the wall fireplaces, which can still be seen (Figure 4.6). Each has a round arch and one of the earliest known branching flues matching those on the exterior walls.[793] The importance of the fireplaces was that in the majority of great halls in the medieval period, with the exception of most castles, heating was traditionally by means of a central hearth rather than a wall fireplace.[794] Even the royal hunting lodges and palaces, such as Havering, Writtle and Clarendon, all had central hearths until at least the thirteenth century, when hooded fireplaces were introduced. This central hearth reflected the tradition of the hall being a place where the lord and his companions gathered to eat and drink and affirm their mutual loyalty.[795] The only wall fireplaces were in two-storey structures such as Colchester Castle, where they were built because of the inconvenience and possible danger from a central hearth. The design of the castle clearly shows a first-floor hall, as do the later royal castle at Orford and the Bigods' castle at Bungay, but differs from the Bigod castle at Framlingham, illustrating the variety of design in English castles for some 150 years after the Conquest.

The castle baileys

Despite their impressive size, great towers would not have been large enough for a royal or baronial visit without the buildings in the bailey.[796] The Pipe Rolls record expenditure to repair the hall built in the bailey and the king's houses at Colchester. Though all the buildings are now lost, excavations have revealed that the bailey was developed over time with an additional hall for those accompanying the king, while servants were probably accommodated in the service areas, sleeping in the bake-house and kitchen. The ground floor hall in the bailey measured 6m x 16m (20 x 52ft), probably had two doorways and, unusually, did not have a central hearth but as in the castle itself, an arched wall fireplace with short chimney buttress. The extensive bailey at the castle would have had space for a range of buildings which like the hall, are now lost.

[792] Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp.64-66.
[793] Ibid., p.67.
[794] Wood, *The English Medieval House*, p.257.
[795] Set out in Chapter Three, referencing the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*.
[796] See also Chapter Three.

The castle's legacy

The design of the almost contemporaneous Norwich Castle moved away from the austere *donjon* to a more comfortable castle. Orford Castle, built by Henry II in the 1160s, probably to balance the growing power of the Bigods in the eastern counties, is a later example of this less austere style. Only the three very early castles at Colchester, London and Rochester appeared to follow the European tradition. Colchester, therefore, could be said to represent the end of a phase of castle design which had begun in Europe as early as the tenth century with the great *donjons* of Northern France.[797]
Castles built in the centre or near towns often had an impact on those towns. For instance, Clare bought some supplies from the market there and at both Framlingham and Bungay castle building resulted in the need to restructure the church and market.[798] Although it had a towering visual impact, Colchester Castle had little environmental impact on the town. This was partly because it was built on the framework of the Roman temple and the re-positioning of roads to accommodate land taken for this had long since been done. Although many castles were occupied, at least at some point each year, Colchester was rarely visited and so did not require a large group of trades to serve the king. Despite its grand scale it became redundant in the late Middle Ages, and later residents demolished its top floors. In contrast, the royal hunting lodges in Essex were regularly visited by royalty and their peers, though even they did not make a major contribution to the local economy, as shown below.

Royal hunting lodges

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries monarchs stayed in the network of hunting lodges they developed. The extensive network of some 40 royal lodges extant in the years 1154-1216 ranged from large, such as Clarendon, to small such as Cheddar, and from Pickering in the north-east down the spine of England and across to Poorstock in the south-west.[799] These lodges included Havering (Essex), Clarendon (Wiltshire) and Cheddar (Somerset), which were all built before 1100, and the lodge built for King John at Writtle, Essex, in 1211. The two lodges in Essex at Havering and Writtle appear to conform to the general pattern of such buildings.

[797] Creighton, *Early European Castles*, pp.50-51.
[798] Set out in Chapter Three.
[799] Colvin, *The Kings' Works Volume II*, p.85.

Havering hunting lodge

There is nothing remaining of the royal hunting lodge at Havering, later known as Havering-atte-Bower, which was extensively rebuilt by King John. However, there are many references to the lodge in the Pipe Rolls, Close Rolls and Exchequer Rolls and from them, and references to other royal lodges, both new and rebuilt, the buildings can be configured with reasonable certainty. In the reign of Henry I there were instructions to repair the wall of the hall or court, the wardrobe of the King's old chamber and a wall at the back of the King's two chambers, to supply an oven, bake-house and salting house, and to repair the gutters and the stable and make a new chimney in the King's great chamber.[800]
From this expenditure on repairs it can be deduced that the twelfth-century Havering hunting lodge had a great hall, private chambers, kitchen, brew house and stables, generally in a single-storey layout. The precise relationship of these structures and whether they formed a connected whole can only be surmised by comparison with other well-known hunting lodges such as Cheddar and Clarendon. The main body of repairs were in timber, with oaks felled from the royal forest, rather than stone, since in Essex there was a shortage of locally available building stone.

Writtle hunting lodge

It is recorded that King John built a new hunting lodge at Writtle in 1211 at a cost of £13 6s 8d.[801] While nothing now remains except the impressive ditches and ponds dug to surround the lodge as a defence, as well as forming the basis for large fish ponds, there has been extensive excavation, which has shown the likely design of the lodge through succeeding years (Figure 4.8).The excavation in 1955-57 showed that the large enclosure originally created by the ditches measured 60.6 x 54.8m (200 x 180ft) and contained a hall with central hearth and a pillared wall which probably led to chambers for the King's use. To one side, and separated from the hall, was a large kitchen, and located around this a large oven or hearth and rubbish and cess pits. None of the buildings appear to have been closely interconnected except the hall and chambers. At the east bridge, a substantial gatehouse guarded the entrance to the enclosure. All around were extensive ditches. Today, quite large lakes stand near the moats, and drainage ponds remain to clear the streams that still run round the area. The design of this royal country house appears to follow a tradition already established at Havering and other palaces, to construct a hall and a chamber for the King and his family with adjacent services and kitchen in a linear

[800] *Pipe Rolls 10-12 Henry I*.
[801] *Pipe Roll 13 John* (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1964)

layout. These structures would be built inside an area enclosed with a ditch and often a palisade as well, and entered through a defended gateway.[802]
The excavations at Writtle revealed that the hall measured 10.3 x 9.7m (34 x 32ft) and was built of timber, with walls probably filled with cob or daub. There was a central hearth surrounded by a cob superstructure and possibly a dais to the north, but it is difficult to be sure of the detailed design of the original hall because of the post holes of subsequent re-buildings. No two walls are alike in construction and there is now no trace of a connection to the kitchen and pantry to the east, though it is likely that there was at least a covered way.[803] Though much over-built, the excavations show that the earliest lodge at Writtle did indeed contain elements familiar in many other royal lodges: a hall with central hearth and private chambers either close or attached, a separate kitchen and other services, possibly a chapel and certainly a separate large gatehouse.[804]
There is no documentary evidence from before the fifteenth century for the additional buildings near the hall or just outside the moat, which must have been provided for the king's retinue in the same way that the bailey and hall provided accommodation at Colchester Castle.

The royal palaces at Cheddar and Clarendon

Two comparisons from elsewhere in England, the buildings at Cheddar and Clarendon, illustrate the general structure and content of royal lodges in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Both confirm the reconstruction from records and excavation of the Essex buildings. At Cheddar (Figure 4.9 top) the site was excavated in 1961 and revealed that there was a sequence of halls, each with a central open hearth that formed the heart of the site. Replacements of varying design were constructed one on top of the other over three centuries, but all were ground-floor halls with central hearths. This evidence suggests that the early halls were built of timber using post and truss construction, had aisles and pointed rafters and were probably thatched. [805] A chapel and boundary ditch and fence were identified and a latrine. Although no kitchen or backhouse could be confirmed in the early buildings on the site, these must have been present. Other buildings were found, but their use was unclear.[806] The plans of the Cheddar site also show separate buildings which include a small aisled timber hall with probable accommodation to the east in the south-east building. Although there may have been eastern extensions to the hall, these are more likely to have been added later

[802] Colvin, *Kings' Works Vol. 1*, pp.83-4; *Chancellor's Roll 8 Richard I*, p.81.
[803] Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge*, pp.55-6.
[804] In the north-west the site of a chapel was revealed (see Figure 4.8), dated to 1300 or later.
[805] Rahtz, *Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*.
[806] Colvin, *King's Works* Vol. II, p.909.

in the 13th century. The complex is on a much smaller scale than Clarendon but comparable to the lodges at Writtle and Havering.[807]

At Clarendon, while Henry III spent lavishly in the later years of his reign to develop a palace to rival Winchester on the site, excavations conducted in the late 1930s showed a simpler, though still large, structure and buildings for earlier years (Figure 4.9 bottom).[808] The plan is one of many which take account to a greater or lesser extent of excavations and assumptions made at different times in the last century. Two characteristics shared by both of the Clarendon plans are the linear nature of the buildings and the great hall remaining a central feature throughout the many additions and elaborations made. The hall measured 25 x 15.9m (82.5 x 52.5ft), slightly smaller than the hall at Winchester (which measured 40.62 x 20.31m (134 x 67ft)), but still impressive, with six pillars supporting the stone structure and external buttresses. This twelfth-century hall had two arcades and a dais at the east end and was large enough to accommodate in 1164 a council which included 14 bishops and many lay barons. The usual range of manorial buildings included rooms for looking after the royal family, a kitchen complex, larder, buttery and scullery, bakeries and ovens and administrative buildings and staff accommodation.[809] Not all have been identified on the ground. The Pipe Rolls also record payment for the King's chamber to be painted and panelled.[810] As at Havering, Writtle and Cheddar, the buildings were constructed as a linear rather than an integrated group.

One measure of the importance of the hunting lodges is the considerable sums spent on them. The Pipe Rolls record that Henry III spent nearly as much on his royal palaces as his castles. [811] Though the initial cost of castles was far greater than that of hunting lodges, in one year (1176-7) the sum of £566 spent on civil buildings exceeded the £537 spent on military construction. Hunting lodges provided vital accommodation as well as an opportunity for hunts in nearby royal forests. Both the royal lodges at Havering and at Writtle were kept in good repair and were close to extensive areas of royal forests. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the evidence appears to show that they retained the traditional, or, as Michael Thomson suggests, 'native' style of a ground-floor hall with central hearth, sleeping accommodation for members of the household and additional, but not necessarily attached structures such as chapel, pantry, kitchen, buttery and other service buildings.[812] It seems likely that separate chamber blocks accommodated the king

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[807] Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, pp.62-3, Plan p.63.

[808] Colvin, *King's Works* Vol. II p.910: T. B. James and A. M. Robinson with Eames, *Clarendon Palace: The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Palace and Hunting lodge near Salisbury, Wiltshire* (London: Society of Antiquaries Research Committee no. 45 1988).

[809] James and Robinson, *Clarendon Palace*, pp.10, 22-23, 28-29 Plan on p.64.

[810] Pipe Roll 1216 Henry III pp.37 and 157.

[811] For example, civil building costs in the Pipe Rolls 1176/7 included (p.179): Winchester stone 60s 8d; p.163 marble columns for Clarendon £10; p.198 repairing the chamber at Westminster 20 marks.

[812] Thompson, *The Medieval Hall*, pp.99-110.

and his immediate family. There seems therefore to have been little innovation in either the structure or main building features. The same features are recorded in the manor house complexes of the Bigod earls and the manorial complexes on the Bury St. Edmunds estates.[813]

The hunting lodges were broadly similar to these manor complexes, but the buildings on the king's estates and the approach to management of his manors did differ from the other two groups of landowners. On the king's manors in rural Essex there are numbers of local moated farms, small manor houses and peasant dwellings recorded before 1300. These were built and maintained by the tenants and peasantry rather than by the royal landlord. Though few buildings remain standing from the twelfth century, there are some, and there has been a significant level of excavation in the county. There is also extensive documentation including references in court rolls, pipe rolls, close rolls and cartularies.[814] The next section explores the management of land and the buildings on royal manors in Essex.

The royal manors in Essex

The twelve pages of the Essex *Domesday Book* that list the holdings of William the Conqueror in 1086 demonstrate the extraordinary detail, the complexity of holdings and the thoroughness of the commissioners. The listing includes very small holdings such as the ten acres held by a reeve at Rochford, one hide held in the Rodings, where there were 12 other land holders, and many other manors such as Benfleet, Steeple and Shalford where the King's land was very much the minor holding in the area. These smaller holdings had low valuations, such as £8 for Benfleet, or were even measured in shillings, such as Shellow valued at 3s 6d. However, the King held thirteen manors in Essex with 5 or more hides of land, probably at the standard measure of 120 acres, though there is some evidence that a hide in Havering was 480 acres.[815]

Four of these large holdings, Great Chesterford, Havering, Witham and Writtle, each demonstrating a different aspect of estate management, are reviewed below. The others have fewer traces of twelfth-century domestic buildings and/or their composition of villagers, smallholders, and ploughs and the economic mix of animal husbandry, woodland and meadow is not significantly different from that on the four selected manors. [816] The manors that have been chosen also have documentary

[813] See next paragraphs, also Chapters Two and Three.

[814] This has included D. F. Stenning, 'Small Aisled Halls in Essex' *Vernacular Architecture* vol. 34 (2003), 3-19; *Victoria County History of Essex*,; CBA Report 19 (1977), *Essex Historic Churches*, W. and K. Rodwell, eds., (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1977); CBA Report 17, F.A. Aberg, ed., *Medieval Moated Sites* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 2000 updated 2007).

[815] M. K. McIntosh, 'Land, tenure and population in the royal manor of Havering,Essex, 1251-1352-3' *EcHR* New Series vol.33 no.1 (1980), 17-31(p.26).

[816] The other manors included Hatfield Broad Oak, Great Shalford, Rickling, and Newport.

and, in some cases, physical evidence of rural buildings other than the type of manorial complexes which have been identified on ecclesiastical and lay earls' estates.[817] The next paragraphs set out the arguments surrounding rural peasant buildings as a general background to looking at buildings on these estates.

Peasant buildings

In recent years, different points of view have emerged relating to peasant buildings. The arguments, presented in Chapter One and further explored below, focus on the permanence of structures built by wealthier peasants, the type of housing available to the less well-off and the design of peasant complexes. In these royal estates, examples of landlords' high quality housing, of complexes built by peasants and minor lords, and of the type of housing that could be found in nucleated as opposed to isolated farm complexes have been found, broadly supporting the view that rural housing was more substantial and better built than had been assumed for much of the twentieth century.

It was assumed for many years that peasant housing was primitive and not built to last, so that little remained to be investigated.[818] The *Agrarian History of England and Wales* supported this view stating that 'no early medieval peasant houses survive as in many cases they were too flimsy to last more than a generation'.[819] An extended article by Christopher Dyer in 1986 used documentary and archaeological evidence to challenge these assumptions.[820] His main conclusions were that in the South and East of England, even in the twelfth century and certainly by the thirteenth, there were stoutly built and extensive farmsteads in many places, especially where the peasant family had accumulated land or combined farming with trade to generate cash. Dyer suggested that the principal building of a messuage, mentioned in a wide range of charters and leases, was a specialised dwelling-house rather than a longhouse, and that a number of structures are recorded on peasant manorial holdings for storage of grain and other farm buildings such as sheds for animals. Because timber was the predominant building material, with earthfast structures leading to decay of principal structural timbers, little now remains.[821] It is also suggested that different settlement layouts, plan types and internal layouts may reflect different agricultural practices, inheritance customs or

[817] Chapters Two and Three.

[818] J. G. Hurst, 'The Wharram Percy Research Project: Results to 1983' *Medieval Archaeology* vol. 27 (1984), 77-111.

[819] Hallam, *Agrarian History*, p.898.

[820] Dyer, 'English peasant buildings', 19-45.

[821] 'Earthfast' means that the key verticals of a building's structure were placed directly into the earth. In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries this was superseded with low stone walls or pad stones in areas without readily available stone, so improving the permanence of the structures.

economic circumstances.[822] Evidence from the Havering estate in particular supports this approach.

As importantly, at this less wealthy end of the economic spectrum, researches into peasant incomes and expenditure indicate that one of the main determining factors in the amount and type of village housing was the amount of land held by any one family. From a survey in 1299 of the Manor of Bishop's Cleeve, Dyer reconstructed the finances of Robert Kyng, a yardlander (holder of 30 acres).[823] Dyer demonstrated that from his main farming activities, Kyng could have received some £3 19s a year at best. Allowing for unavoidable payments, which would include rent, taxes, fines and tithes, his surplus would be reduced to some £2 11s. From this, food for the family which the tenant's land could not provide, such as salt, would need to be purchased, together with pots and pans, agricultural tools and clothing and any heriot (death duty) or other fines paid. This would mean that in a reasonably good year Kyng would have possibly £1.50 to save, but in a poor year, or if he had to replace an animal or repair a building, would have nothing or even get into debt. There are many variables involved in this calculation and many uncertainties about the detail of the numbers. However, since to build a house would probably cost between £2 and £4 for the majority of peasants, this would be a long-term and large undertaking.[824] This is explored below on the estate of Witham.

If it was difficult for Kyng with a 30 acre holding to afford a house, then the majority of tenants in Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex who had much less acreage would in reality have had no spare cash to invest, even with additional waged work when they could get it. For instance, in Cressing, Essex, of 84 tenants listed in the initial section of the 1185 survey, only 14 had one or more virgates (30 acres).[825] This meant that the 70 tenants (83%) who had less land would have had little or no opportunity to construct or rent anything other than the most basic structure with perhaps wooden earthfast posts, a thatched roof and wattle and daub walls. Prosperity and the capacity to build in the countryside came with land.

An additional economic factor impacting the peasant's ability to build a relatively substantial structure was the number of days each week that the peasant had to give to working on the lord's land as part of the rent for his land and the harvest and ploughing 'boon' works he owed. Unwaged labour was important to the effectiveness and expansion of many ecclesiastical lands and in the development of lay lords' lands.[826] For the royal tenants, though service days were more often

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[822] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p.122.

[823] Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp.112-117.

[824] Dyer, *Everyday Life*, pp.154-158.

[825] *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with illustrative charters and documents*, B.A. Lees, ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp.2-5.

[826] K. Biddick, *The Other Economy: Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p.28; Lees, ed., *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, p. lxxv; see also Chapters 2 and 3.

commuted in return for a cash payment, this still meant that additional money had to be found from already tight budgets.
Two major studies specifically relate to Essex buildings other than castles, churches and large manor houses: a report in 2003 on small aisled halls in Essex and one in 1978 on moated sites with an extended chapter on Essex moats.[827] In general, as we will see, buildings constructed on royal manors by wealthy peasants, minor knights and lords largely appear to have followed the traditional style of the hunting lodges, having at their centre a hall with a central hearth rather than a fireplace. There is, however, a variety of designs for additional rooms and buildings for other uses, especially for household accommodation and agricultural buildings. A range of buildings has been found, sometimes through documentary references, sometimes through excavation, sometimes with standing remains (though often only partial remains of the earliest building). Some resemble manorial complexes, though not at the same level as the buildings of the great landowners, but others are the homesteads of wealthier peasants or the tofts of established peasant families. The royal estate of Great Chesterford has examples of this range of rural buildings.

The Royal Manor of Great Chesterford

Great Chesterford lies in the north-west of Essex, close to the border with Cambridgeshire near the River Cam. The royal manor also included the well-wooded higher-level land that was Chesterford Park.[828] Great Chesterford flourished as a nucleated village, broadly under the control of the community, and has traces showing the layout of peasant housing. The manor of Little Chesterford, contingent with the royal manor, and held by a man-at-arms, has also been researched in order to provide a comparison with Great Chesterford, illustrating the difference made when a landlord was resident in the area, building his manor house and involved in farming the land.[829]
Great Chesterford was one of the largest of the King's manors, with 10 hides of land.[830] The *Domesday Book* records that in 1086 Sheriff Picot was responsible for the manor 'in the King's hand' and in 1086 it was valued at £30. There is no record of a resident lord or manager living in the area. Little Chesterford was half the size, with 600 acres (five hides) and smaller woodland, but also had the same mix of agriculture with crops and animal husbandry. The Domesday entry lists 43 sheep, 34 pigs, 23 goats and four cattle. There was a resident landholder. Apart from size, there were other differences in the two manors. Little Chesterford had two ploughs in lordship and three men's ploughs compared to 18 in its larger neighbour, and had

[827] J. Hedges, 'Essex Moats' in Aberg, *Medieval Moated Sites*; Stenning, 'Small Aisled Halls in Essex', 1-19.
[828] *Domesday Book Essex* 1.9, and see Appendix 4.
[829] Ibid., 42.9.
[830] Details in Appendix 4.

26 tenants compared to 37 in Great Chesterford. This was a lower number of ploughs than could be accounted for by the smaller size (50% smaller in area but 27% of the ploughs) but it could be that the presence of the landlord encouraged efficient and close working between peasants to achieve a better output from ploughing with less resources. Such an approach would have been important to optimise the smaller acreage available to Little Chesterford tenants.[831] These factors would have influenced the value, which was £6 compared to £30 for Great Chesterford, a rate of 24 shillings per hide compared to 52 shillings per hide. These figures seem to show that Little Chesterford was a poorer manor, with fewer tenants each holding less land. Yet despite this, possibly because the productivity of the land was better with a more active manager whose livelihood depended on the crops and animals on the land, there was enough value for the tenant, a man-at-arms who lived in Little Chesterford, to build a large manor house. This building was significant enough to be included in Emery's *Greater medieval Houses of England and Wales* and to be listed as Grade 1 by English Heritage. The original building is one of the few remaining twelfth-century stone-built domestic buildings.[832]

Manor houses in the Chesterfords

The Manor House (Figure 4.10) at Little Chesterford dates from the early thirteenth century and formed a group with the church. The two-storey north-east wing, with thick stone walls and a heavy timber floor, is a rare example of early domestic building in stone. It was this original building, constructed circa 1200 and thought to be a ground-floor hall with chambers attached, which was later converted to a kitchen and services wing to form part of a classic H-shaped structure. This later structure was developed with an aisled hall and a second cross-wing before the close of the thirteenth century. The original building measured 14.5 x 7.6m (48 x 25ft) with one metre (three ft) thick walls; the floor is supported in the centre of the span by a longitudinal beam on braced posts. Two original stone doorways and two small original windows with semi-circular rear arches survive. There are some remains of early thirteenth-century windows, but the current staircase and fireplace were inserted in the sixteenth century. The hall measured some 1.2 x 5m (37 x 17ft) with aisles 1.5m (5 ft) wide.[833] Though this is not large the building provided a permanent home for the resident lord and his family, and is more evidence of the prevalence of ground rather than first-floor halls in the countryside. It may be, however, that the dangers which may have led to construction of first-floor halls in

[831] 26 tenants for 5 hides, an average of 23 acres compared to 34 for ten hides, an average of 35 acres in Great Chesterford.

[832] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.22-23.

[833] British History Online. www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/Essex/vol II, pp172-175 [accessed 24.12.2014].

earlier times were not considered to be great enough to warrant the vaulting necessary to build a hall at a more defensible first-floor level.
In contrast, Great Chesterford never had a manor house, 'the Lords having always been of the higher nobility….their Chief residence elsewhere or at court'.[834] The one building of note in the village is Marigold Cottage in School Street (Figure 4.11). This, though much altered in succeeding centuries, retains traces of a small early thirteenth-century ground-floor aisled hall. These traces include an end wall, arcade plates and a tie beam supporting an octagonal crown post with a moulded capital and base.[835] There is insufficient structure remaining to estimate the original length of the single-storeyed hall, but the width has been estimated as 3.55 metres. From the design of the end wall, with no evidence of a doorway, together with the restricted size of this plot, it seems probable that the house was both smaller and of a simpler design than the house at Little Chesterford. It was therefore likely to have been built by a freeman or wealthier tenant farmer rather than a landholder who was a knight or manorial seignior.

Village housing in Great Chesterford

In Great Chesterford the buildings of the villagers and smallholders lined the streets of the nucleated village. Traces of the fields show that it was a common field parish, with significant areas of the arable land shared by the villagers who each held strips or parcels of the land inherited through families.[836] There are no structures still standing, but their location and the sizes of plots can be traced though overlaid with major rebuilding in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Generally, the plots of land which formed the messuages lay in narrow strips with the house against the street, often with a deep ditch, possibly to prevent both theft and animal incursion. The plots generally were large enough to contain a yard and farm buildings, sometimes a toft for crops, and an orchard or garden. All were timber-framed, walled with studs and plaster on willow slats and with thatched roofs and straw on the internal floors.[837] The records in the local courts and trace evidence on the ground would seem to support Christopher Dyer's contention that such village houses were not insubstantial but built to last as places for families to live and inherit and carry on the business of agriculture.[838]
The pattern that emerges from Great Chesterford is that no major early medieval manor house or hall was constructed while the manor remained in the ownership of the king. In Essex, so much has been built in the area during succeeding centuries that discovery of a deserted rural village complex such as that at Great Palgrave in

[834] Deacon, *Great Chesterfield*, p.5.
[835] Stenning, 'Small Aisled Halls in Essex'.
[836] Deacon, *Great Chesterford*, pp.21-22.
[837] Ibid., pp.12-14.
[838] Dyer, 'English peasant buildings'.

Norfolk seems very unlikely.[839] However, the traces discovered in such villages show a development of peasant tofts and plots divided by ditches similar to the traces on the ground at Great Chesterford. In many deserted villages, significant numbers of padlocks and keys have been recovered as small finds in a number of excavations of peasant housing These indicate that security was important, but just as significantly that doors were substantial enough to warrant locks and walls not so flimsy that they could be easily knocked down by a thief. Court rolls of the thirteenth century show that doors could form obstacles to theft.[840] Equally, evidence of chests, of candle holders and of items such as spurs, stirrups and horse furniture have also been found and indicate that peasant life was not always 'nasty, brutish and short'.[841] While there is no archaeological evidence of this kind from the modern village of Great Chesterford, it seems likely that the buildings and lifestyle of the peasants who lived there did not differ greatly from that of their contemporaries elsewhere. The lack of active resident management that characterised Great Chesterford was probably also the root cause that resulted in the very different economic development in Havering.

Havering

The manor of Havering was extensively forested and had a royal hunting lodge. The *Domesday Book* entry for Havering in 1086 valued it at £40, but the sheriff received double that in total dues, with the additional sum coming from fines and other feudal fees.[842] Income was raised from three sources: rents from meadow, pasture and other assets; profits from jurisdiction; and the appropriation of freemen and sokemen into the manor as rent-paying tenants.[843] In Havering, the king faced the same dilemma as on all his estates: to optimise income and collect all dues owed he needed either a resident official, who would have to be paid and accommodated, or regular visits from a formal supervisor, especially in the forests, where assarting was frequent. Socio-economic development in the manor has been extensively researched by M.K. Mcintosh and provides a contrast with other royal lands in Essex and with ecclesiastical and earls' estates.[844]
As an example, the impact of having an absentee landlord is reflected in the fortunes of one of the enterprising families who lived there, the Wood family. In four generations from 1150 to the 1230s they had created *de novo* an estate of 570

[839] M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer, eds., *The Rural Settlement of Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989), pp.152-3.
[840] Dyer, 'English peasant buildings', p.36.
[841] Astill and Grant, *Countryside of Medieval England*, p.57; Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.84.
[842] See Appendix 4.
[843] Hallam, ed., *Agrarian History* vol.2, p.92.
[844] M.K. McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community, The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200-1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

acres (nearly half the size of the whole 1086 royal estate in Havering).[845] Much of this land was not formally appropriated and did not therefore generate any rental income for the king. The fee for the whole manor was set at £85 at the end of the twelfth century (excluding the priory account of £25 which was remitted to the prior) and remained at this level until 1242, despite the fact that during these years the acreage worked by the villagers had increased by some 62%.[846] Havering was not part of the experimental investment undertaken by de Burgo (see Writtle, below) but from 1251 to 1253 the Crown tried once more to gain better control by appointing a resident official to collect dues, oversee the relatively small (240 acres) royal demesne and manage the king's animal stock.

In 1251, following a survey, an agreement was reached on the rent due as £112 10s 11 3/4d, an increase of only £2 (taking account of the rent for the priory) or 31% if that is excluded. Given that the acreage being worked had increased by nearly 100%, this is a practical example of the Crown losing potential revenue, possibly through the strength of the local community affecting the work of the assessors. The officials also specified the amount of rent due for each piece of land and the price for commuted labour services and agreed that this would remain an immutable total fee due. The benefits of these low and frozen rents were enhanced by the grant of a market in Romford and a yearly fair, in which Havering's inhabitants were free from toll. One result of the changes was that the Crown was seriously out of pocket. The total income of the manor after 1251 was not more than £145 per annum, including timber sales, while the cost of maintaining the royal lodge in 1251 and 1253 was £371 and £325 respectively.[847]

For the king's tenants, the freezing of rents brought significant benefits. The prosperity of the majority of peasants on the land was marginal, especially for those holding less than 15 acres. Any reduction in costs or potential to increase margins was important to the ability of the tenant and his family to improve standards of living and manage to survive through years of poor harvest. It was also essential if a tenant were to be able to build or even repair his dwelling. A second result of the way in which local tenants acquired new land was that the manor evolved to consist of large landholdings in named units rather than the open field system with shared cultivation rights that existed in Great Chesterford. Partly as a consequence of this, 62% of tenants holding only royal land in 1251 held more than 10 acres (considered the bare minimum for subsistence) compared to 39% on the Templars' land at Cressing. This accumulation of land, sometimes referred to as the development of *'kulaks'* or an early yeoman class, was more characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It could only happen in these earlier centuries through the freedom exploited by the more enterprising peasants to accumulate land and

[845] Ibid, p.93.

[846] Ibid., p.90: Note: a hide may have been 480 acres rather than the normal 120, and on this basis the 1086 acreage would have been 4800 compared to 7800 in 1245.

[847] Ibid., p.17. *Liberate Rolls* for 1251 and 1252.

wealth.[848] It led to the development of individual rather than village agriculture and a dispersed settlement rather than a nucleated village.
This ought to have led to more small farmhouses and peasant complexes, and possibly did. A recent excavation at Days Road, Capel St. Mary in Suffolk has revealed evidence of such farmsteads built from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.[849] However, Havering's relative nearness to London, the vibrant land market and sound economy meant that it was an attractive location through the early modern period, with much rebuilding. As a consequence, the oldest remaining structure is Blue Boar Hall, a seventeenth-century timber-framed house.[850]
The difficulties of tracing even the outlines of peasant housing are increased because settlement in Havering was dispersed, with isolated farms and farmsteads rather than a nucleated village. The challenges in studying dispersed settlements are that scattered communities are by definition smaller, there will be fewer field traces and probably less documentation. In contrast, a village such as Great Chesterford may cover all the settlement and living patterns of a community, can be surveyed with air photography and explored through local excavation.[851] There are records of land transfers and transactions in Havering, but no excavation has yet revealed any details of peasant housing. The next section analyses changes in the economic and architectural development of a manor which during the twelfth century moved from the king's management, comparable to that in Havering and Great Chesterford, to that of lay lords, the Templars.

Witham Manor

Witham was a large royal manor of 14 hides with 100 villagers,60 smallholders and woodland for 1500 pigs.[852] It has been selected as one of the royal manors for detailed study because it demonstrates the contrast between the kings' approach to estate management which lasted until King Stephen granted the manor to the Knights Templar in 1147, and the post-1147 developments by the Templars. In essence, the kings continued to use land as a reward for support from barons and good service from their retainers. Encouraging markets or innovative management of land was rarely undertaken. while lay lords like the Bigods strove to optimise what was their main source of income. Witham is an example of these differences. The changes made by the Templars are examined in the next sections, followed by an assessment of the economic impact.

[848] Ibid., pp.97-98.
[849] Tabor, 'A Medieval Farmstead', 551-581.
[850] British History Online, VCH Volume 9 p.10 www.british-history.ac.uk/report 28 October 2014.
[851] Aston, Austin and Dyer, *Rural Settlements*, p.233.
[852] *DomesdayBook*, *Essex*, 1.24; and see Appendix 4.

The medieval village community of the royal manor at Witham was transformed soon after the grant to the Templars. They already held the adjoining manor of Cressing, granted by Matilda in 1136, and developed this combined area with a new town along the main road from London to Colchester (Newland Street), a new market in this main street and a new manorial centre on a 600-acre site at Cressing. The development of Witham has been the subject of extensive excavation and documentary research by, among others, Warwick Rowell, who has published much of the material.[853] The royal holding included Chipping Hill and there is still debate as to whether the earthworks recorded there, now largely disappeared, were the remains of a tenth-century settlement by Edward the Elder in 913, a Roman camp or an Iron Age site.[854] There is, however, little doubt that the earliest medieval settlement was centred near the earthworks and included a church, now restored, and a number of small plots down the hill.[855] The settlement had a local market (not mentioned in *Domesday Book*), which although near the probable meeting place for the hundred on Chipping Hill, was only accessible by lanes.[856] As it was not on a main route, the market primarily served local needs. There is no trace of a hall or manor house, though it is likely that there was a place for the sheriffs to collect dues and hold courts. Given the long history of the hilltop as an inhabited area and its commanding position, the location of any hall is likely to have been on or very near the earthworks, but there is as yet no direct evidence.

The lack of development at Chipping Hill can be compared with that on two neighbouring manors, Blunt's Hall and Howbridge Hall. Both have been surveyed and excavated and show evidence of a moated enclosure containing a manor house and other buildings, although neither site has any significant medieval remains. Some estimate of the significance of their original buildings can be gained from comparing the areas enclosed by their encircling moats. Blunt's Hall moat measured some 60 x 45 metres and Howbridge Hall some 65 x 25 metres. As a comparison, the area of the king's hunting lodge at Writtle was some 175 x105 metres, nearly three times as large. Though only a single measure, the size of the enclosures makes it likely that the buildings were local moated farm complexes rather than major manor houses. English Heritage descriptions support this view. Their listing records Blunt's Hall as 'a square moated site with strong inner rampart….dated to 1135-1150….possibly built on by Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1141'.[857] Excavations in 1958 yielded no trace of a domestic building. However, the earthwork of the moat with prominent internal bank and raised internal platform represents the ring work

[853] Rodwell, *Witham*. It is also the subject of an extended article and a book by R Britnell, referenced below.

[854] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, M. Swanton trans. and ed. (London: Phoenix Press, 2000) p.97; Rodwell, *Witham*, p.65.

[855] Rodwell, *Witham*, p.85.

[856] Britnell, 'The Making of Witham' *Historical Studies 1*, 1968, p.14.

[857] English Heritage 2007 Monument No.381250 http://www.pastscape.org [accessed 31.10.2014].

tradition of small fortified sites.[858] The present Howbridge Hall is a late sixteenth-century structure, but the remains of medieval moats and ditches indicate two conjoined enclosures and just beyond these a mill stream; the mill is listed in the *Domesday Book*. It is very probable that these remains are, as at Blunt's Hall, those of a small medieval moated manor. [859]

Once they gained ownership of the manor The Templars developed a new town at Witham, originally known as Wulversford, though the name was never fully adopted and the area was and still is known as Newland Street or Newland Witham. It was developed along the main London to Colchester road in several phases during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was laid out as a range of plots varying in size from ¼ acre (1 rood or 5 ½ yards) to 3 acres, all fronting the road. From a survey in 1258 of 61 listed plots, 53 were occupied, showing that the town was flourishing and that the main focus had moved from the original village settlement on Chipping Hill to the new town and new market site. The first documentary evidence for the new market is a charter of King John of 1212 confirming the Thursday market and annual fair at Newlands, possibly because of a perceived threat from other markets in neighbouring towns.[860] Entrance to the town's market and the main street was controlled by an earthwork at one end and the river at the other, so giving the Templars close control of tolls and dues from travellers and traders.[861]

From documentary evidence and archaeological excavations, the Templar complex at Cressing was used to manage the lands there and developments at Witham; it is thought to have included a large dwelling-house (though this has never been found), a chapel, stables, dairy, brew house and malt houses.[862] Little remains of these structures but two great timber barns, the Barley Barn and Wheat Barn, built in the thirteenth century, still stand today. The earlier of the two, the Barley Barn (Figure 4.12) was initially thought to have been built around 1200 but recent dendrochronological analysis has put the date between 1205 and 1235.[863] It measured internally 36.3 x 13.6m (119 x 15ft) with a height of 7.73m (24ft) to the tie beams.[864] Some idea of the scale of the barn can be gained by comparison with the neighbouring moated sites. The Barley Barn is a third the size of the Howbridge Hall moat and a quarter that of Blunt's Hall. Such a major development reflected the practical energy of a landlord keen to optimise the value and productivity of his land, which, it has been claimed, was the primary purpose of the activities of the Templars in England. It also contrasts with the passive role of the kings' sheriffs, who collected what could be accumulated from fines, rents and other dues. No

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[858] Pastscape (www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob id=381250) listing detail on Blunt's Hall Monument No 381250 [accessed 28.10. 2014].

[859] Rodwell, *Witham*, p.51.

[860] *Rotuli Chartarum* (London: Record Commission, 1837) p.188.

[861] Rodwell, *Witham*, pp. 89-91; P.R.O DL43 14/1; Britnell 'The making of Witham'. in Britnell, *Markets, Trade and Economic Development*, Section 7, 7-26.

[862] Andrews, ed., *Cressing Temple*, p.12.

[863] historic.england.org.uk/listing

[864]Andrews, *Cressing Temple*, pp.62 and 12.

barns of this size have yet been identified on royal manors, though some were built for the church such as Great Coxwell barn for Beaulieu Abbey and for secular institutions such as Harmondsworth, built for Winchester College.

The medieval barns

The barns are an example of structures built by landlords to store, manage and optimise income from the grain crops grown on their estate. C.A. Hewett considered the Cressing barns to be of major importance as timber buildings, since at least some of their structural concepts were new in Essex when they were first built.[865] The Barley Barn is built on six transverse frames carrying a scissor-braced roof, later replaced by a crown post substructure. It has essentially a large central bay, two side bays and an area of some 5000 square feet
The barns have an historic as well as economic importance. They are within a tradition of timber barn building that continued for several centuries and was itself part of a tradition of domestic buildings such as manor houses and halls constructed from timber in a broadly similar way. Two of the earliest known large timber barns in this tradition at Black Notley and Little Coggeshall, are in Essex, though both have been much reconstructed. The barn at Black Notley has evidence of notched lap joints and aisle walls with wattle and daub infill. The barn is near Stantons Hall, a well-constructed aisled house of the early fourteenth century.[866] Little Coggeshall Barn was built by the Cistercians in the thirteenth century but only twelve standing posts, one tie beam, some braces and corner posts survive from the earliest structure. It, too, has open notched lap joints, probably had simple hipped ends and the arcade posts stood on pad stones or stylobates.[867] Each of these predecessor barns was built by either the resident lord of the manor, as at Cressing, or by the church on ecclesiastical land. Other later barns such as Prior's Hall Barn, Widdington, Essex, built around 1380, continued and developed the tradition in which the Cressing barns were built.
The Cressing barns represented a major investment in timber and skills and reflected the Templars' determination to maximise the profit from their crops and ensure that they could be securely stored. They also facilitated harvesting, as the barns were used for threshing to extract the grain from the sheaves. It has been estimated that in an average year the arable lands of the Templars in Cressing/Witham would produce sheaves requiring in the region of 83,360 cubic feet of storage. The two barns gave this capacity and some additional capacity in a good year to store sheaves in the aisles.[868] Grain storage in dry, well-ventilated

[865] C. A. Hewett, 'The barns at Cressing Temple, Essex and Their Significance in the History of English carpentry' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol. 26 no.1 (March, 1967) 48-70.
[866] Andrews, ed., *Cressing Temple*, p.53.
[867] Ibid., pp.55-56.
[868] Ibid., p.34.

barns was important for ensuring a supply of grain to the Cressing workers and to the artisans and tradesmen in the new town. Many of these had only small plots of land, in common with an evolving trend in other towns during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; at least 60 of those living in Witham Newland had no land at all.[869] These and most of the other traders relied on purchasing oats and barley for their staple diet of bread and ale. The stored crops at Cressing would have been their main source. Secure storage also allowed the Templars to sell surplus crops when prices rose, as they did commonly through the winter and into the highest price sales time of the spring. The difference in bushel price between autumn and spring sales could be as much as 25%. The barn could be used to hold crops against a bad year when prices would be even higher.

The economics of barn building

The publications by Hewett and Andrews on the barns do not refer to the costs of building, but from references about materials and labour in other documents the investment the Templars made in the Barley Barn can be at least approximated. In his article, Andrews estimated that it required 600 timber parts from some 480 trees of varying length and maturity. This included timber for 196 full-length rafters, each being between 20 and 21 feet long; these represent some 57 trees aged at least 50 years.[870] The costs of timber are difficult to establish, but in 1326 in the court rolls of the Suffolk manor of Lakenheath the cost of 20 timbers for a small peasant house was estimated as ten shillings (6d per timber).[871] From a survey in c.1500 the price had, if anything, reduced, with the cost of 'great oaks' recorded as 8d each.[872] While these costs span some 300 years from the date of the Barley Barn, it is noteworthy that costs have hardly changed. The price of other commodities such as wool also stayed broadly constant from 1210 to 1330.[873] It seems probable, therefore, that the costs of timber are unlikely to have changed significantly between 1200 and 1326. Taking a cost of 6d per timber, and allowing for some shorter lengths, say 500 in all, this would give an approximate cost of timber for the barn in the region of £12.10s.
Carpenters' wages would have been the other significant building expense. Over the same period wages at best remained constant and for agricultural work actually decreased.[874] Ramsey Abbey accounts give the costs of carpenters for making a

[869] Britnell, 'The Making of Witham', p.18.
[870] Andrews, ed., *Cressing Temple*, pp.86-87.
[871] Dyer, 'English peasant buildings', 19-45.
[872] T.H. Lloyd, '*Some Aspects of the Building Industry in Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon*', (Dugdale Society, Occasional Paper no.14, 1961), 16-17 (quoted in Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings', p. 27)
[873] Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, p. 754.
[874] Postan, *Medieval Economy*, pp. 240-241.

barn as 39s 4d for a timber cost of 16s.[875] Though the dates of these figures are much later (mid-fifteenth century) the ratio (1:2.5) would not have changed. For a building with timber costing £12.10s, carpenters' costs would therefore have been in the region of £30. The total cost of the Barley Barn was possibly £42.10s; this excludes the cost of roofing, as the roof was originally thatched and the reeds and labour would almost certainly have been taken from the estate itself at nominal cost. If some estimate for this is included, a cost of up to £50 is probable. As a comparison, the initial expenditure on the royal hunting lodge at Writtle in 1216 was £13 6s 8d.[876] However, the barn was a larger and more complex structure than the earlier hunting lodge and although it has been repaired and some of it replaced, it has stood for 800 years, while the lodge has disappeared. Some 150 years later, Merton College had a similar barn constructed on their estate at Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire. The barn has broadly the same dimensions as the Barley Barn (36.3 x 13.6m) and the cost has been estimated as in the region of £40.[877] Given the estimated nature of many of the calculations, the suggested range of £40-50 and probable cost of £42 10s seems a reasonable assumption.
Capital investment in agricultural buildings and equipment was generally low in the early Middle Ages. Investment depended on favourable circumstances, such as an exceptional harvest or market conditions, and most landlords invested less than 5% of gross revenues.[878] The Templars clearly believed that building the barns would make a major contribution to profits, given that the wheat price could increase by at least 25% between harvest time and the early months of the following year. The practice of holding back sales to wait for a higher price is recorded on many estates, both large and small, including on the estates of Bury St. Edmunds and the Bigod earls. [879] The impact on the economics at Cressing is shown below.

Return on Investment

The amount of Cressing land held in demesne is not certain, but it was unlikely to have been less than the 867 acres rented to tenants according to the Inquest of 1185.[880] The demesne land would have been subject to a three-year rotation, meaning that some 289 acres would have been fallow, leaving 289 each for wheat and barley.[881] Yield is not specified in the 1185 return. There are various estimates of yield from other sources and taking a broad average a figure of 1/4 per acre can

[875] Dyer, 'English peasant buildings', p.32.
[876] Inflation calculated from wheat price rise in Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.66:- wheat price in 1200-1210, 6s per quarter: in 1300-1320, 8s per quarter, a rise of 33%.
[877] Hewlett, *Cressing Temple*, p.90.
[878] Miller and Hatcher, *Rural Society*, p.232.
[879] R .H. Britnell,'Minor landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism' *Past and Present* no. 89 (1980), p.20, and see Chapters Two and Three.
[880] Lees, *Records of the Templars*, pp.2-5.
[881] Ibid., p.13: the entry specifies a three-crop rotation plan.

be estimated.[882] This would give a volume of grain for sale of some 280 quarters after reducing the total for 10% tithe and 10% seed corn retained.
The price of grain is as uncertain as the yield. However prices for grain held over for sale in late winter and early spring were higher than grain sold at peak harvest time. The barn allowed more grain to be safely stored for such lkater sles so enabling recovery of the barn costs and then more profit for the manor. Cost recovery would have been faster and the margin greater the more grain was held over to the late winter and early spring.

Increasing Income from the estate at Witham/Cressing

The barns were one improvement made by Templar management; others, such as the introduction of the new town and a better located market, resulted in a significant increase in returns from the land granted to them in Witham/Cressing. In the *Domesday Book,* as the king's manor, the value was quoted as £34 from rents and dues. The 1165 survey details rent income as £22 and a further £10 from taxes and the market without any dues or entry fines.[883] The sales of produce from the demesne land were likely to give a further £100 minimum, allowing for costs and tithes. This would give a total annual value of £144 nearly three times the value would have been if the land had remained in the king's hands.[884] Thought least some of the figures are speculative, even if the rise were less, say twice, it was exceptional, even compared to the increase in income of 129% achieved by the Earl of Norfolk on the king's land in Norfolk.[885]
Missed opportunities for income generation represented by poor estate management were recognised by new councillors appointed by King Henry III in 1236. They reformed the approach to managing the royal demesne, instituting a new regime to increase the income from royal manors to the levels being achieved by lay lords. Writtle, one of the royal manors in Essex, was involved in this thirteenth-century experiment in management.[886]

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[882] Davenport, p.30, quotes yields for Fawcett Manor as between three and four bushels per acre: in the *Winchester Pipe Rolls*, ed. Richard Britnell, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p.118 sets out yields of between five and eighteen bushels per acre: Hallam, *Agrarian History*, p. 290 quotes a yield range of 2.5-5.3 quarters per acre for eastern England.

[883] It seems likely that a lower acreage of land was rented in 1165, given that the demesne lands were required to produce crops for sale.

[884] This is on the assumption that, as in *Domesday Book*, all the land at the time was rented to tenants.

[885] Detail in Chapter Three.

[886] The data on the change in managing Henry III's estates was the subject of a Yale University doctoral thesis by Stacey: 'Crown Finance and English Government under Henry III, 1236-1245'. Details of Writtle Manor in 1086 are in Appendix 4.

The Manor of Writtle — a royal experiment

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was a profitable business to be a royal sheriff. Although the Treasury demanded full payment of the shire income due to the king, if the king chose to bestow a manor on a supporter or retainer, then the sheriff was compensated. At the same time, while the royal dues tended to be fixed, when prices rose and more land was cultivated, the sheriff could demand additional rents but keep the extra for his own use.[887] He could also apply fines and other dues in the courts to extract additional income, for instance for a marriage or to allow an inheritance. None of this extra had to be declared and passed to the king. The sheriff often lived in a large manor house or, as at Norwich, in a royal castle, and there was little control over the charges he made unless the tenants took him to court. As a general rule, King William and his successors received less income from their manors than could have been obtained. As a result of a review of the economy of royal manors under demesne management conducted by the king's councillors in 1235, a new approach was introduced. Instead of sheriffs and other custodians, usually appointed as a favour by the king, three manorial custodians were appointed and required to maximise the value of the king's manors. All the incumbent managers lost their income and status. Each custodian was paid a fixed annual salary on the understanding that all the manorial income would be paid to the king. They had considerable powers to invest in land management and to recover land for direct management rather than rent. Custodian Walter de Burgo was in charge of some 18 manors in southern and south-eastern England, including Writtle.[888]

The Pipe Roll accounts for the three years 1236/37 to 1238/39 record receipts and expenses for each manor and reveal that de Burgo increased livestock levels, raised rents, returned meadows to grain production and used manuring, marling, planting with beans and peas and sowing with 'new' seed (to prevent transmitted disease) to increase yields.[889] This is the same approach as that used on many manors in east Norfolk, which had resulted in significant additional profits from the land.[890] He optimised labour services where possible, retaining those that were required for achieving additional yield and commuting others to increase the cash received. As was done in eastern Norfolk, he changed the acreage planted where this could be profitable and improved the animal stock in most areas.[891] As a result, de Burgo

[887] Stacey, 'Crown Finance and English Government', pp. 82-3.

[888] R.C. Stacey, 'Agricultural Investment and Management of the Royal Demesne Manors, 1236-1240' *Journal of Economic History* vol. 46, no.4 (1986) pp.919 – 934. Details of Writtle manor in 1086 are in Appendix 1.

[889] Yields were usually measured as the crop harvested against the amount of seed sown.

[890] See Chapter Three.

[891] Stacey, 'Agricultural investment', p.927.

increased overall revenues for the king by 60% (£600-£700 per annum) for an investment of 19% (compared to the more usual investment level of 5%).[892] Results from Writtle included a seed to yield ratio of 2.17 for wheat, 5.5 for rye and 3.53 for barley.[893] Though not exceptional in comparison to the yields from some of the estates in East Norfolk, such yields were comparable to those from many ecclesiastical estates.[894] De Burgo increased rye and barley production to exploit the better results from these crops. Good results continued even with a significant rise in labour costs at Writtle where labour costs from customary services cost £5.17s 6d in 1236, but in 1237/8 purchasing the same labour from the new landlord, Isabella de Brus, cost almost £15. Despite this success, at the end of 1240 de Burgo was dismissed. Though the reasons are not documented it seems likely that a combination of concern at the additional cost of auditing the manors, pleas from the king's dependants who had lost their positions and income and possible concern from the king at the loss of opportunity for royal patronage may all have been involved.[895] However, some of the increases in output and other income were reflected by the king's council in higher rents required from restored sheriffs and other appointed managers.

This experiment showed just how much royal estates had been underperforming and the additional income kings could have received. In total cash terms, an income in 1140 of £31000 would have been increased by just over £10,000 (34% net) from this one initiative. The estates researched have shown that there were many differences between royal manors and those of the earls and the church. There was also a difference between royal towns and those of the other two landholders.

The royal towns

When William conquered England in 1066, he took over majority ownership of many of the largest towns, including London, Norwich and York, and towns which were river and sea ports such as Colchester, Dover and Southampton. Defence was, initially, a major concern; but the protection of important trading routes and travel to the North Sea coasts as well as Normandy became an increasingly important factor. Over the next 100 years, royal sponsorship led to 70 towns being developed, many accompanying castles such as Windsor. Others, such as Portchester and Orford, were prompted by the need for coastal defences or to establish a commanding presence in the area.[896] Some towns were set up to meet what might be considered a domestic requirement, such as New Woodstock, providing a place where officials could stay when Henry II stayed at the royal manor of Woodstock or

[892] Stacey, 'Crown Finance', p.99.
[893] Ibid., p.167 and Annex 3, p.545.
[894] See Chapters Two and Three.
[895] Stacey, 'Crown Finance,' p.165.
[896] Beresford, *New Towns*, pp.448, 461, 497, 489.

Newport, developed to facilitate fish to be brought from the vivarium to the royal household. However, as well as the overriding objective of increasing income from rents and court profits, the new royal towns were also established to support a castle built for the defence of the land or to establish the royal presence in the area.[897] The Essex town of Colchester and the town of Orford in Suffolk were two royal castle towns where the king's approach, though equally concerned in both places with defence and an expression of power, had different impacts. Once Colchester had been built and a steward appointed, apart from King John who lifted the siege of 1216 there seems to have been little involvement with the town.

Colchester town

The *Domesday Book* entry for Colchester consists mainly of a list of holders of houses and plots of land, largely because the rents they paid were one of the King's main sources of income from the town, and the *Domesday Book* was primarily about the King's revenue. [898] Between them, the 295 individuals listed held 404 houses, many having one or two each but some, such as the Bishop of London, having 14. Some lords of neighbouring manors, such as Aubrey de Vere, held land and houses and they, like the Bishop, retained these for rental income. The list reveals some basic information about those who owned properties and those who worked in the town. Many householders held land within the town, varying from half an acre to 30 acres, with the average between five and six acres. This would have been enough to provide some food for the family and to support a pig or sheep. However, some 120 individuals (42%) had houses but no land, an indication that the town was attracting labourers and traders away from the countryside despite the strongly agricultural base of the economy at the time. The data shows the three main groups of those who lived in the town: the wealthy who held land as well as having an urban occupation; the traders and specialists, some of whom had some income from land and were then comfortably well-off and others who relied on their skills alone; and the landless poor.

The different levels of wealth influenced the broad types of housing in the town. The wealthy lived in substantial houses, often constructed from stone, and including shop frontage for their own use or for rent. Those on middle incomes generally lived in smaller houses constructed of timber. The landless poor rented single room cottages closely packed and often located at the back or side of the buildings of the wealthy. Towns developed additional living spaces by division of the original burgage plots (usually 18-20 ft. wide) resulting in 'a frontage of only 8 feet' in old towns like Winchester.[899] These living spaces for the poor wereoften built by a landholder, such as the church, renting the rooms out at less than 1d a week.

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[897] Ibid., pp.478 and 482.

[898] *Domesday Book*, *Essex*, 90 B3

[899] Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England Towns*, p.267.

Town development

Archaeological finds have indicated that there was a scattered Anglo-Saxon settlement within the Roman walls of Colchester between Head Street, Culver Street and Lion Walk, and the early medieval town continued to occupy the area within the walls. Figure 4.13 illustrates this layout and includes a detailed map of the medieval town. The walls, together with the Norman castle constructed at the end of the twelfth and early in the thirteenth centuries, broadly determined the layout at that time. This was a grid plan, conforming to the original Roman settlement, with North Hill, Head Street and High Street following the roads from the north and east gates. The road from London was diverted round the Roman temple and possible site of King Coel's stronghold (now Colchester Castle) to enter the town at the south-west gate. There is no cathedral at Colchester, unlike many important royal towns such as Winchester and Norwich, but there are many medieval churches within the walls. This also highlights a difference between a town under royal and one under ecclesiastical control. In Bury St. Edmunds, where construction was controlled by the Abbey, there are only two churches within the walls, both close to the Abbey, while in Colchester, where there was freedom for parishioners to build their own local churches, they constructed ten. In Colchester there was also an Augustinian priory and abbey, founded by Eudo Dapifer in 1095 and 1100 respectively, but both were located outside the walls. This may well have been because, even this early in the development of the town, there was pressure on urban space within the walls

Research has shown that, at least up to the thirteenth century within established towns, the burgage plot remained the primary unit of rentable property although as shown above, it was frequently divided as space became more constrained. The most frequent burgage plot length was between 3 and 3 ½ perches (49.5ft – 57.7ft).[900] As a comparison, of the 53 plots let at Witham new town, 35 were twice this size and all but one of the remainder was larger.[901] Looking at the medieval property boundaries in Colchester, the frontage of most plots would appear to be slightly smaller, between 33 and 66 ft. and within this there could be as many as 6-8 subdivisions. Even substantial stone houses such as those at Foundry Yard and Lion Gate appear to have had a frontage of some 40ft, though they extended back at least 66 feet.[902] Whatever the precise measurement, individual structures had a small frontage and one of the consequences of these restricted frontages was that it became essential to build up and back rather than along. Available land stretching back some distance from the street compensated for the small frontage and gave rise to structures with living space and facilities behind the commercial premises.

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[900] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p.162; T.R. Slater, 'An Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns', *Area 1*, vol.13 (1981), pp. 211-216. A perch was equivalent to 16.5 ft

[901] Rodwell, *Witham*, p.39.

[902] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, p.49.Their length, however, would have been much greater.

The *Domesday Book* records that the town grew in wealth in the 20 years after the Conquest. It was valued at £15 in 1066 compared to £80 by 1086.[903] There are, however, many puzzles in the listing of payments due from Colchester in 1086, not least whether customary dues listed as not paid were to be collected. For instance, the customary dues from Count Eustace are quoted as 12s, and were said to have been paid before 1066 but not in 1086.[904] Nevertheless, a sign of the flourishing economy was that as well as the assessment of £80 a further £20 was due for operation of the mint, and £2 4d or 4 sesters of honey.[905] The late eleventh century seems to have been the high point of prosperity, as the value assessed for the town halved to £40 by 1130.[906] The likelihood is that the original harbour at Old Hythe silted up and, even with the development of a new harbour at New Hythe, Colchester did not command a large enough hinterland or offer easy enough access to large sea-going ships to compete with ports such as Ipswich. Equally, nearby towns such as Chelmsford and Witham flourished in the twelfth century. [907] Chelmsford was supported by its landlord, the Bishop of London, who built a bridge across the River Can in 1199 facilitating road traffic to the markets of London. At that time the Bishop also sought and gained a market by royal charter and, with his support, Chelmsford rather than Colchester became the administrative centre for the county of Essex, though the county sheriff still lived in Colchester Castle and the county gaol was there. As we have seen, Witham developed under the Templars with a new town and market.[908] This competition for inland trade, combined with a lack of established sea routes, contributed to the gradual decline of Colchester after the twelfth century.[909]

Colchester trades

This gradual decline needs to be seen against the growth of trade in both wool and manufactured cloth in the Eastern counties in the twelfth century. However, though known for russet cloth, Colchester town did not have a large wool industry. Of the key trades that manufactured cloth, only eleven fullers and dyers were recorded in the tax assessment of 1296. What this assessment showed was that Colchester was essentially a large county town without a main trade but with a wide range of tradesmen and merchants living in the town.[910] The 1296 return lists 196 individuals, of whom only 11 (5.6%) had goods valued at over £5. These were the elite burgesses, the only people who could afford to build substantial houses. The

[903] *Domesday Essex*, B3-7.
[904] *Ibid.*, 106 b 3 g.
[905] Ibid., 107 b 6.
[906] *Pipe Rolls 1130*, p.109.
[907] Britnell, *Growth and Decline of Colchester*, *1300*, pp.11-13.
[908] See earlier paragraphs in this chapter.
[909] Britnell, *Growth and Decline of Colchester*, pp.15-16.
[910] Rickword, 'The Taxation of Colchester 1296 and 1301', pp.126-155.

occupations of these 11 reflected the still largely agriculturally based wealth of burgesses. Four were farmers, so had no trade stock; three were tanners; one a butcher and shoemaker; two were clothiers; and only one, a trader who specialised in coal and salt, had no listed income from grain or farming stock. [911] Using the data simply as an indicative comparison, a 1327 tax assessment for Bury St. Edmunds recorded that the proportion of taxpayers with goods worth more than £5 was some 30%.[912]

At the artisan level, there was a range of trades, including nine shoemakers, seven fishermen, ten tanners, five butchers and various merchants including one specialising in seeds and spices, the latter perhaps giving some indication of the capacity of at least some of the burgesses to indulge in fine foods. The wealth of any one trade still varied considerably. Of the ten tanners, three who held land, as well as following their trade were wealthy and a fourth, also with some land, was worth £2 13s, but the remaining six, who had no income except from their trade, were valued at eleven shillings or less. The relatively low incomes of Colchester citizens reflected the decline in trade, competition from nearby inland towns as well as the ports of Ipswich and Harwich, and the difficulties that Colchester had in maintaining its sea-going trade.

Nevertheless, the 1296 tax return for Colchester does demonstrate the continuing close relationship of urban and rural communities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. [913] The total value for tax purposes was calculated as £249 13s 4d, made up as shown in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Colchester, total value for tax purposes

Grain	£104 18s 0d	
Farming stock	£51 11s 10d	
Total	£156 9s 10d	**63%**
Trade stock	£80 7s..10d	**32%**
Household goods	£12..15s 8d	**5%**

This table, while individual figures may be understated, shows that at the end of the thirteenth century agricultural wealth was nearly twice as large as trade. This continuing relationship between country and town is also reflected in the design of the houses of the richer merchants in particular, even though their function was both domestic and mercantile.

[911] Ibid., pp .127-131.

[912] Bury was a steadily flourishing town in the fourteenth century and the comparison can be taken as an indication of comparative wealth.

[913] Rickword,'Taxation', pp.126-155.

Town buildings

Houses of the wealthy

Medieval stone houses constructed by the wealthy are still standing in several towns in the eastern counties, including the Music House at Norwich, Moyses Hall in Bury St. Edmunds and a number of houses in Lincoln, such as Flaxengate. In Colchester there are some remains of six twelfth-century stone houses that excavation has shown were constructed largely from materials re-used from Roman ruins.[914] Throughout the Middle Ages, these and other principal merchant houses of Colchester, and most of the shops, stood in or near the market, which was held in High Street between its junction with North Hill and the castle gate near Maidenburgh Street. There was also a Moot Hall, again largely built from re-used Roman stone. The Moot Hall was probably constructed just before or in 1189, when Colchester received its first charter.[915] There are no records of a merchant guild in Colchester, so the hall is unlikely to have been for the exclusive use of a specific guild such as Goldsmith's in York. As was the case with many such civic halls, Colchester's was lavishly decorated to symbolise civic pride (Figure 4.15).[916] Only burgesses whose income was £5 or more, which represented relative wealth at the time, would have had sufficient cash to fund the construction of the Moot Hall.

Housing for those on middling incomes

According to the detail in the Colchester rolls for 1301, artisans and skilled specialists who earned less than merchants but more than labourers or servants had relatively small houses.[917] For these burgesses, such as a tanner and a dyer, the rolls record a hall, chamber and kitchen, recognisable through the goods listed, such as beds and chests for the chamber and pots and pans for the kitchen[918]. A hall is also listed, but no goods of value are recorded. This is probably because at this time hall furniture was still rare, with few chairs and tables. Seating for meals was generally constructed from planks laid on trestles.[919] Outside the house there was a granary, bath-house and brew house. The value of personal possessions listed was remarkably small (a total of £12 in the tax return for 1296, as in Table 4.1). Often a

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[914] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, p.53.
[915] There is no drawing of the Moot Hall exterior before the eighteenth century but medieval remains of a window and internal archway are shown in Figure 4.15.
[916] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, pp.61-2. The earliest depiction of the exterior of Colchester Moot Hall dates from the eighteenth century so is not included.
[917] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, pp. 70-71; (4 pole units for plots).
[918] Rickword, *Taxation*, p155. A typical example quoted by Rickword is Gilbert Ayte, who had a bed in the chamber and in the house a fire iron, a saucepan and a tripod.
[919] Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, pp.158-9.

'grangia' or equivalent of a barn in the countryside, was listed, with details of grain and stock held. Trade tools such as leather, skins and bark for tanners were set out and valued separately. There is no mention of furniture for entertainment or display.

The houses of these less wealthy burgesses would have been built with a wooden framework, earthfast, with the interstices filled with clay and the roof covered in thatch.[920] A door would have opened directly into the man room and a door opposite into the small courtyard behind. There would have been a small unglazed window opening on the inner side for light and air, a stone hearth in the centre of the room and a screen separating the passage through the house from the living area. The floor would have been strewn with rushes and the walls roughly plastered.[921] Better houses had a ladder at one end to a bedroom above, one or two cupboards and possibly outbuildings to store goods. These, with sheds for work, a vat to brew ale and a barn for cattle and to store grain would form a small enclosed yard.[922] These burgesses probably also rented land outside the town, as well as using the common land for grazing, but other less wealthy burgesses would only have been able to rent land locally on the town fields.

Housing for the poor

Poorer citizens with no land at all wanted to keep their stores of grain or their one cow or pig close to their housing. A town house in Perth has been reconstructed from excavated evidence and gives some indication of the possible structure of such dwellings in Colchester. The house, measuring 4 x 8 metres (12 x 25 ft.) was a single room built with wattle walls covered with clay, some timber uprights and a roof of straw thatch. Food would probably have been cooked over an open hearth in a ceramic pot and served on wooden bowls and plates. The room would also have served as working space.[923]

However, the richest citizens, such as the spice traders and other merchants, lived in stone houses, and the impact of rural conventions can still be seen many of these. Remains of six medieval stone houses in Colchester have been excavated and mapped, largely in the 1970s.

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[920] Rickword, *Taxation*, p.153

[921] Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp.158-89. Dyer quotes examples documented in York, Canterbury and Ayr. The town fires recorded in Bungay in 1688 demonstrate that the great majority of houses were made of wood. Mann, *Old Bungay*, p.31.

[922] Rickword, *Taxation of Colchester* p.153, based on Parliamentary Rolls for 1301, *Taxation* Appendix, pp.245-8.

[923] Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*, Illustration 11, p.182,

Colchester's twelfth-century stone buildings

Two of the sites, at Cups Hall and at the Gables, have so little that can be identified firmly as structure that they have not been included and a third, the hall in the castle bailey, has already been covered. The remaining three houses are at Lion Walk, Pelham's Lane and Foundry Yard (see lower section of Figure 4.13). Each had a similar configuration with a first-floor hall for more formal living**,** passages and service rooms as well as a chamber for sleeping and more private space. Each of the three buildings has been excavated, revealing some, though not extensive, ruins. The houses at Lion Walk and Pelham Lane have been extensively altered and the most complete picture has been built up from the excavations at Foundry Yard (Figure 4.14).

The excavation of the house at Lion Walk appears to show that it had a first-floor hall with a basement at ground level. A penny of Henry 1 dated 1120 was discovered in the foundations.[924] Two rooms were later added to the southern side of the hall and may have been a kitchen as there was a shallow recess which showed signs of being burnt. The property was then enclosed on its two street frontages, demonstrating the occupants' concern for security. The basement was not vaulted, but the upper floor may have had two central posts, which would have been for status and decorative rather than structural purposes. There is a possibility that the property was in fact a ground-floor hall, but no trace was found of either a wall fireplace or central hearth at ground level. [925]

The stone house at the junction of Pelham's Lane and High Street was partially demolished in 1730. From the surviving rear wall and elevation, it appears that, as with the other two houses, the rear part of the house consisted of a first-floor hall and there was a barrel-vaulted basement which had three south-facing windows. It is possible that the basement was at the original ground level, but too little survives to deduce whether it was used for storage or for merchandising.

There were differences in the house at Foundry Yard. This was demolished in 1886, but from excavations, a possible ground plan and elevations have been reconstructed (Figure 4.14). It can be said for certain that there was a first-floor hall with a barrel-vaulted basement sunk partially below ground level and a narrow east-west room to the south. Unlike the basements uncovered at Lion Walk and Pelham's Lane, the basement at Foundry Yard contained four or five loop windows, four doorways and seven round-headed recesses and was probably used for trading, given the number of doors and windows which would not have been needed for a storage facility.

The remains of these three houses, each with a first-floor hall, support more recent theories that urban houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were similar to rural designs, with a hall forming the central space of the whole complex and used

[924] Henry I ruled 1100-1135.

[925] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, pp.53-60.

for meeting, eating and for servants to sleep in. Though no evidence has been found of a central fire in the hall spaces, equally there is no evidence of wall fireplaces or chimneys and the probability is that the halls were heated by central fires. The hierarchical structure in the hall space would have been similar to that in country houses, with one end for the family, other tables for visitors and relatives, and services provided from beyond the wall opposite the top table. This would have been a familiar and reassuring configuration for people visiting from the country, relatives or sons and daughters coming to the town to be trained or to act as servants.[926] This layout was also found in Moyses Hall in Bury St. Edmunds (Figures 1.13, 1.14 and 2.17).
The vaulted basements at Foundry Yard also support the concept that urban houses combined domesticity with merchandising, especially when the houses fronted onto the main street, though there is less proof of this. Although in these houses the hall was on the first, not the ground floor, this would have been for commercial reasons rather than concerns about security. They cannot therefore necessarily be taken as evidence supporting the theory that, after the Conquest, most halls were on the first floor. As some confirmation of the commercial function, the Moot Hall, demolished in 1843, was also built of stone and included a raised hall partially above street level.

Comparing urban and rural housing

There are difficulties in assessing how town housing may have reflected rural housing. Firstly, most excavations in towns have been limited to the street frontage, which would have been shop or storage or workspace. Secondly, most of the housing in towns would have been timber-built and there are few standing timber houses that were constructed earlier than the fourteenth century. The only known partially surviving example is in Newark and even here nothing is known about any ancillary accommodation.[927] There was however no real equivalent in the countryside of the town or moot halls of many cities.

The Moot Hall

This raised hall was aligned east-west and the floor was six feet above street level. It was reached through doorways in the northern and southern walls, and it appeared from the excavation that the basement was partially sunk below street level. Various additions and alterations were made, including a bell tower in 1400 and a prison. The porch over the southern entrance was probably constructed in the

[926] Grenville, *Urban and Rural Household*s, p.113 in Kowalski and Goldberg, *Medieval Domesticity*.
[927] Giles and Dyer eds, *Town and Country in the Middle Ages*, pp.45-6.

fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.[928] There are no pictures of the outside of the Moot Hall earlier than the eighteenth century; however, documentary evidence from the fourteenth century includes a reference to 'a house of the commonality of Colchester that might be called the home of equity and honour'.[929] Architectural evidence includes two drawings, one of a doorway that leads to the upper chamber and one of a window (Figure 4.15). Both are highly decorated, with the window displaying an inner archivolt decorated with a pine cone or bunch of grapes below a palmette leaf, the outer archivolt displaying a human head with two scrolls below and two column figures projecting from colonettes. The doorway has two pairs of capitals, decorated with scrolls with large leaves and a horizontal beaded necking above the capitals. No other urban secular building in Colchester survives with decoration as lavish as that on the Moot Hall.[930] The similarity of the Moot Hall sculptures to those on Rochester Cathedral's west front led Zarnecki to conclude that they had been executed by the same team. There are two points of special interest if this is the case. The first is that this would date the building of the first Moot Hall to the late twelfth century; given that the Colchester charter was received in 1189, this is quite possible.[931] The second is the attitude of the merchants who funded the building, whose wealth and taste is demonstrated by their employment of an eminent team to construct such lavish decoration.
The only other stone building in Colchester where such decoration can be seen, other than the entrance arch to the castle (Figure 4.5 top), is the remains of the Augustinian Priory of St. Botolph (Figure 4.16). There, the towers flanking the remaining walls of the nave have mouldings and chevron ornament, and three west front portals remain. The middle portal has four orders of columns, capitals finely intertwined with scrolls or decorated scallops and the arches have chevron decoration.[932] Yet the decoration of the Moot Hall window and arch is, if anything, finer than that on St. Botolph's west front. An equivalent approach, copying architectural style from church to civic centre, is found in Bury St. Edmunds, where the decoration of the Guildhall (Figure 2.19) reflects that on the Norman Tower (Figure 2.1). Although some decoration would probably have been applied to the stone houses, too little remains of the Colchester houses for there to be evidence to confirm this.

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[928] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, pp.60-63.
[929]Giles and Dyer, *Town and Country in the Middle Ages*, p.63.
[930] Zarnecki,'The Sculptures of the Old Moot Hall, Colchester' in Crummy, *Colchester*, pp.63-66.
[931] Crummy, *Aspects of Colchester*, p.61.
[932] Crummy, ed., 'St. Botolph's Priory Church', 1811. Etching by John Cotman, *Archaeologist* Issue 4 (Hunstanton: Wittley Press, 1990-1991), p.23,; Pevsner, *Essex*, p.271.

Timber-built housing

The stone structures that remain in Colchester have attracted most archaeological and documentary research; however, the majority of buildings in towns were timber-built for at least two hundred years after the Conquest. In particular, housing for the urban poor, who significantly outnumbered the wealthy burgesses, could only be profitable if it was affordable as well as optimising the space available, and affordable building could only be achieved in timber.[933] At the same time, the small plot areas also restricted provision of circulation space and luxuries such as an open hall. There are no remnants of the timber houses of medieval Colchester, but some picture can be painted of the probable designs from evidence in other towns, particularly in London. Much archaeological and documentary research has been conducted there to determine the main style of urban small-scale housing. Two types in particular appear to have dominated the streets: a single room with several storeys above and a two-roomed house with two or three floors above.[934] The single room was occasionally split into two with shop and solar at the front and hall at the rear, but more often the upper storey was jettied and additional rooms added at the rear for more space. A few examples survived in Ashburton and Bristol until the 1970s; but they were once as common as they are now rare. They could be built against the walls of larger houses with courtyards, in back lanes without a street frontage, especially for the tradesman who sold his labour rather than his goods, and in very crowded areas such as The Shambles in York.

In Colchester, the numbers of people listed on the tax surveys of 1296 and 1301 are 195 and 400 respectively. The major difference between the two surveys was that in 1295 anyone with goods valued at less than seven shillings was excluded. As there is no evidence to support a supposition that the population more than doubled in five years, the conclusion must be that over half the population of the town had goods of less than seven shillings in value and would be considered poor. These were the people who would need cheap housing and would rent the single rooms that were most probably scattered throughout the town. There is no remaining evidence of timber housing for the poor in Colchester, but elsewhere these single-room structures are known to have evolved into such designs as the Lady Row in Goodramgate, York — a series of single cell units probably used as shops on the ground floor with accommodation in the jettied first floor above.[935] It is very likely that similar structures were built in Colchester.

In the double-room type of structure, it appears that the ground floor was entirely devoted to commercial use as shop, workplace or warehouse, as it was directly fronting the street.[936] This view is broadly supported by Quiney, but he also

[933] Quiney, *Town Houses*, p.235.
[934] Schofield and Vince, *Medieval London Houses*
[935] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, p.190.
[936] Ibid., p.69.

suggests that there would be a passage from the street to the rear where there would be private rooms and even, for the more affluent, stabling for animals, waste disposal and access to a well or watercourse.[937] Some survive, and Whiting Street, Bury St. Edmunds (Figure 2.20) is an example. The extensive remains of structures and documentary evidence of buildings in Colchester contrasts with the lack of evidence in Orford, with the notable exception of the royal castle and the church.

The King's town at Orford

The fact that Orford is widely known as a place to visit in Suffolk is due to its castle rather than the town. Yet when Henry II decided to build Orford Castle in 1165/6, Orford already had a market, was a busy port and returned income of some £24 to the exchequer, which compares well to the market income at Newmarket of £5 in the 1280s, and £4 from Woodbridge market in the 1340s.[938] However, it is significant that even though the King spent a lot of money on his castle and in the landscape surrounding the town, the income from the town barely changed, reaching £26 13s 4d in 1170/1, just £2 more than in 1156. This indicates that Orford town itself remained essentially a local market centre. It was the income from the port which grew while the castle was built, varying from £30 to £56.[939] The King financed the development of surrounding land, spending £4 11s 7d in 1169/70 to close off the marshes in order to create additional grazing land. He also bought 700 sheep, costing £21, and a boat (costing 5s 3d) to carry them across to the new grazing land on the marsh. This generated an additional £15 in annual revenue, a highly desirable rate of return, recovering costs within two years. It is not clear whether a king's man cared for these sheep, but the additional income was accounted for separately from the rent for the town. The King also required that the town should be laid out with a grid system of plots to encourage new tenants. A new church was built and the town still has the single main street that resulted. The property boundaries of some of the original regular burgage plots are just recognisable today, but in the 1160s the town stood near the mouth of the river Alde, which has now silted up. This makes the original plans hard to interpret, especially as what was a harbour is now a river bank.[940] Equally, while Orford has 51 buildings listed by English Heritage, with the exception of the castle and the ruins of the Norman church all are Grade II listed and date from no earlier than the late sixteenth century, with most houses and cottages built in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Whatever built heritage there might have been in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot now be discovered, except perhaps by archaeological work under existing properties. From the available data it seems that

[937] Quiney, *Town Houses*, pp.237-238.
[938] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p.123.
[939] V. Potter, M. Poulter and J. Allen, *The Building of Orford Castle: A Translation from the Pipe Rolls 1163-78*, (Orford: Orford Museum, 2005), pp.13-21.
[940] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, Plate 9, between pp.178 and 179.

while royal finance was available to build the castle and port and the town was at least laid out to support new activity, little real additional wealth accrued to the inhabitants of Orford. In particular, once the River Alde silted up and only fishing boats could gain water access, Orford became what it had been before, a local market town serving a limited surrounding countryside.

One puzzle that remains unsolved is that the entrance to Orford Castle faces south-west, away from the market-place, church and port developed simultaneously with the castle. It points in the direction of Gedgrave and a dead end surrounded by marsh and would require a traveller to make a 180 degree turn to head towards the quays or access the road leading to and from the town. This may have caused difficulties, and whether it had a wider significance in the attitude of the castle builders to the town remains unclear. Possibilities include that in the late twelfth century there was an alternative route from castle to town, now lost to the encroaching marshes, or that the indirect route was a deliberate separation of the approaches to the castle and the town, emphasising the separation of one from the other. There is no documentation to support either possibility and as the castle was never used as a residence by its royal patrons, no record of any difficulty.

The royal estates – some conclusions

Looking first at royal buildings, it was the use made of them that gave the greatest contrast with those of the Earls of Norfolk. William's early castle at Colchester reflected a traditional design, perhaps initially to provide defence, but its role was also to make a statement that the Normans were in control. In contrast, the curtain wall castle at Framlingham represents the developments in castle building and functions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A key difference was that Framlingham Castle was used regularly as a residence by the Bigods, while Colchester declined after the reign of King John (1199-1216). Colchester was used by the county sheriff to collect dues and as a prison rather than as a manorial centre.

At a more domestic level, the royal hunting lodges are larger but remarkably similar in design to the estate complexes of the Bigods and the church. They have halls with open fireplaces, there are chambers for the use of lord and family and the structures are linear, recalling the complexes of the Anglo-Saxons. It is possible to speculate that domestic building in the country, rather than in the towns, put a greater emphasis on function rather than reflecting wealth and making an impression. There is no doubt, however, that in country and town, then as now, wealth was the key to building, whether it was a cottage or a castle, a manor house or a shop, and ambition and display were key drivers for the style of major buildings.

Turning to the manors, many of the changes and challenges facing the country as a whole were evident on the royal manors. Economically, these included the impact of control or lack of it on agriculture, development of markets and trading, changes in land holdings and tenant services and whether opportunities for improving

agricultural output were or were not taken. From the evidence on royal manors, much depended on the interest that the landlord took, and on the Essex estates studied, 'direct royal exploitation of estates was an extremely difficult proposition and no royal organisation existed to render this possible'.[941] However, the king's loss was the local peasant's gain, and the Essex manor of Havering demonstrates how enterprising families took advantage of lax control to manage their own affairs and become wealthy enough to be the forerunners of the yeoman middle class in the countryside.

On royal estates, with the notable exception of the experiment in management that included the manor of Writtle, there was a lack of control that resulted in the king consistently receiving less income from his manors than could have been generated. Apart from his alternative sources of income, the problems of more scattered estates compounded the difficulty of good control when compared to that of the Abbey or the Earls. At the same time, the king had other priorities, not least to be able to reward his supporters with lands, especially during the turbulent times of the baronial troubles in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Unlike on his estates, in his towns the king had considerable control over trade, rents and taxes, yet successive kings do not seem to have pursued opportunities for increased income. There was little impact on the trade in Colchester town from having the massive *donjon* of the castle at one end of the high street. Colchester burgesses had trading advantages from being a royal borough through being able to set a price for provisions and goods in advance of traders coming into the town to sell. They also had a right to share cargoes coming onto the Hythe, at the offer not the selling price. Yet only a few tradesmen and merchants in the town were wealthy. The economics of a restricted sea access and successful competition from other towns in the surrounding countryside led to the decline of the town after the twelfth century. In Orford, the king's expenditure seems to have benefitted his castle but not much accrued to the townspeople. This contrasts sharply with the impact of the Abbey on Bury St. Edmunds, where trade flourished including the more luxury trades, and the town prospered.[942]

Looking at town buildings, in Colchester the design of town houses reflected urban needs as well the structure and function of a traditional manor house in the countryside. Economics continued to influence the design and materials of houses in the town, with small and poorly-built timber housing for the less well-off and the poor. The requirements of trade and the market strongly influenced street plans and frontages and therefore housing. On the other hand, in terms of display and decoration, the Moot Hall in Colchester is an example of aspirational architecture. Conclusions from all three case studies are set out in the next section.

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[941] B.P. Wolffe, *The Royal Demesne in English History* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), p.25.

[942] See Chapter Two.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis explores economic and architectural development after the Norman Conquest, on three groups of estates held by three different landholders: the church, the earls and the king. The aims were to increase understanding of the relationship between the two areas of development and explore their interdependence. The research has also compared and highlighted any differences in the buildings and economic developments of the three landholders, and has determined the reasons behind those differences. The following paragraphs draw some conclusions and summarise findings from the case studies.

Architectural developments

A well-known aspect of architectural development after the Norman Conquest was the construction of many buildings in stone on a much larger scale, using innovative designs. The major buildings on all three estates demonstrate this. They reflect developments in architecture taking place in western Europe, though the scale of the new abbeys and cathedrals was unique to England. By their size, design and grandeur, the castles built by the kings and the Bigod earls and the Abbey built at Bury St. Edmunds demonstrated the status, power and wealth of the new Norman rulers, announcing that they were in control. There were other motives specific to each group. The abbots wanted to build a magnificent shrine for St. Edmund's relics, the kings had in mind defence against external enemies and deterrence of internal threats, and the Bigods were looking to establish themselves as part of the ruling elite and to emulate their peers.

However, the ways in which economic factors impacted on the buildings differed between the groups. At Bury St. Edmunds, the east end of the new Abbey was completed by 1095, when the relics of St. Edmund were moved into the new building. This structure was funded from hypothecated additional rents and indulgencies. It then took another 100 years and more for the nave and west façade to be completed. This contrasts with other cathedrals, such as Canterbury (first rebuilding completed by 1077, second 1093-1130) and Winchester (begun 1079 and completed 1093), which were completed in a much shorter period. Bury Abbey, though wealthy, could not readily develop sufficient additional sources of income to cover the serious shortcomings in its control of expenditure. There is, moreover, contemporary anecdotal evidence from Jocelyn of Brakelond, though he is not an impartial chronicler, that some of the senior Abbey officials were both corrupt and profligate. This resulted in substantial debts being built up, particularly in the years when the nave and west front of the Abbey church should have been completed. This poor management of finances led to a shortage of cash that was at least part of the reason for the lengthy build time.

In contrast, evidence from estate accounts and records of his work for the king suggests that the first Roger Bigod was a prudent man. Accumulating land and salaried positions, he waited until the end of the eleventh century, when the estates he managed and his cash income were secure, before building his first caput at Framlingham. Little remains of this castle, but excavations have revealed soil deposits indicating that it was built as a motte and bailey structure with a chapel and hall in the bailey. The late date and the relative simplicity of this first castle were probably due to Earl Roger not wishing to over-extend his finances. Thereafter there was sufficient stability in the family finances for the next generation of castles — a great tower castle at Bungay and a curtain wall castle at Framlingham — to be built with less regard to financial prudence. In particular, Hugh Bigod's castle at Bungay was typical of early 12th century design with massive walls, a bailey which held most of the domestic buildings and a great tower proclaiming dominance. From excavations and the buildings in the bailey, it appears that the tower, like most great towers built at this time, was primarily used for ceremonial purposes. The second castle at Framlingham built by the fourth Roger Bigod at the end of the 13th century, replaced the earlier buildings. It reflected much of the latest design used in the royal castles of Dover and Orford, which involved building high encircling walls with defensive towers to replace the ramparts and ditch of the earlier castle. However, a feature of almost all contemporary castles of similar design — including Hugh's at Bungay — was a central tower, and the Bigods' second castle at Framlingham did not have one. It seems that the absence of a tower was mainly due to the fact that the curtain wall with its towers could be considered to provide all the symbolism and defensive capacity the Earl thought necessary. A possible additional reason could have been that after paying a large fine, finance might have been tight. These castles provided places for the Bigod Earls to entertain their peers and display their wealth as well as being centres for estate management Royal castle building, while following architectural design as it developed over the years, was influenced by a range of complex factors. They included the need to defend potentially vulnerable coastal areas, to protect trade routes and — especially during the baronial wars — to make a statement about control and dominance. The Norman and Angevin kings continued to build and maintain castles both great and small, and this put national finances under strain. Together with the money needed for wars both at home and abroad and the requirements of daily living, the construction and maintenance costs of buildings led to increasingly higher and more frequent taxation. These demands generated bitter complaints from church and barons. The barons' anger at high taxes of all kinds was a key factor leading to King John reluctantly agreeing to Magna Carta in 1215.

A contrast in approach — rural domestic buildings

All three groups built major buildings using innovative approaches to design and significant amounts of money However, the manorial complexes on the estates of the Abbey and the Bigod Earls did not display changes to the traditional domestic

designs inherited from before the Conquest. These complexes included a hall, upper chambers for high status occupation and a range of ancillary buildings such as a dairy, stables and bake-house. With the exception of the lord's chamber, usually built above a store or service building to provide privacy, the complexes were single-storey; most buildings were not interconnected and were often built round one or more courtyards, surrounded by a hedge or walls. Accounts show that the buildings were funded from income generated by the estates and were centres for estate management

The kings' domestic buildings, such as the two Essex hunting lodges, were also designed traditionally with a gatehouse, a range of supporting buildings, a chapel and a hall with a central hearth. They were funded from general royal income, but as the lodge at Writtle showed, individually they cost very little compared to the thousands spent on castles. In aggregate, however, maintenance and improvements to the considerable number of hunting lodges could add up to significant costs. Generally, the royal estates did not, unlike those of the earls and abbots, have manorial complexes.

There is no indication in contemporary records that finance was a major factor in the design of domestic buildings for any of the three landholders. Over time, the royal palaces became more luxurious and expensive, but this was later in the fourteenth century. It seems that the relative simplicity of the domestic buildings did not relate to affordability, but perhps to a preference for retention of traditional designs, contrasting with the grandeur of castles and great churches.

Tradition and innovation in town buildings

In Bury St. Edmunds and Colchester, the evidence, though not extensive, reveals that in the domestic architecture of the surviving richer merchants' houses the hall was, as in rural domestic building, a central focus. This supports the theory put forward by Pantin that design in town houses was closely modelled on rural manor houses. Indeed, where space permitted, such as in Northgate Street in Bury, the style of domestic complex closely resembled the traditions found in the countryside. Towns generally had strong connections to their surrounding countryside, particularly as most developed from providing centres for local merchandising. The structure of the houses of the wealthy merchants and retention of areas for agriculture and industrial working in yards behind the frontages reflected a continuing close connection between the town and its rural hinterland. However, there was one aspect of merchant housing that arose from economic factors. The need to optimise commercial use of high street frontages did impact on the general layout of town houses. While not invalidating conclusions about a hall remaining a major component, vaults and undercrofts have been discovered in both Bury and Colchester. These were a uniquely urban feature and by the middle of the twelfth century were found in many English towns, including Southampton and London. They were also found in towns on the continent where there were trading contacts, such as in Burgundy. In some towns, such as York, their use as

independent letting spaces for retail has been established, especially where there was no connection between the undercroft and the domestic space. However, retail was also the most probable use where the spaces were connected, as at Moyses Hall in Bury. One consequence of the retail use of the undercrofts at ground floor level was that in the houses of wealthy merchants which included a hall, as in the stone houses of Colchester, it was located on the first floor. These merchant houses cannot be taken as further evidence of a tradition of first- as opposed to ground-floor halls, because their location was a result of specific commercial needs found only in towns.

Although there are no physical traces of housing for the majority of those who lived in Bury and Colchester, economic considerations would have influenced the design and materials of such accommodation. Those who had a low or only middling level of yearly income, such as tanners or masons, would not have been able to afford even cheaper timber-built houses of their own, but would have had to rent. Houses would have been similar to those discovered in London, York and Perth: typically small, built of timber, and with no facilities for working or cooking. These rented spaces could be as small as 17.5 sq. m., significantly less than a typical rented two-roomed rural small cottage. The possibility of two- or three-storey buildings for multiple occupation can be deduced from the number of tenements recorded in the Bury rentals in streets leading off the market. Equally, while in Colchester there are remains of six stone houses, in 1296 there were 200 taxpayers. While there must have been houses which were built for the wealthier taxpayers that have not survived, it is probable that at least half of the listed taxpayers, or 100 families, would have needed more affordable accommodation that would have been smaller and timber-built.

In addition, from the details of the Colchester 1301 tax lists, there were a further 200 families with income of less than seven shillings a year. As in Bury, they would have required cheap, small rented rooms. These would have been timber-built to save on cost, closely packed together and possibly two or three storeys high. From the evidence in London, this urban density would have been quite different from buildings in the countryside and was a direct reflection of the economics of urban living.

Economic developments

A new approach to financial transactions was fundamental to the way that trade and social relations operated from the top to the bottom of medieval society after 1066. As shown in the research into estate income, the use of money became commonplace and payments in kind or in services declined. This was for two key reasons. The first was that rents paid in farm produce involved detailed planning to ensure that the landlord would be in the right place to use them. Even before 1066, money was replacing food rents, though the system was retained into the twelfth century by some monastic foundations where the logistics were simpler. The second reason was that a barter system for the sale and purchase of goods was only

practical on a small scale in local markets. The probability of large-scale matching of goods for sale and goods required was very low. At the same time purchase of materials from much further afield than local estates — Caen stone, or cloth from Flanders — had to be organised on a money basis, as did the payment of peripatetic experts such as master masons and carpenters. Local workers, especially those whose work was considered part of their rent (customary services) still received part payment in food; but even this was discarded when, in the thirteenth century, the cost of the food started to exceed the cost of employing non-estate workers. The steady conversion of rents and services to cash payments and the introduction of money payments in the majority of transactions in towns and markets made the funding of building costs possible. It also facilitated the lifestyle of kings and great lords, enabling the purchase of costly items such as wines and spices from the London markets and great international fairs.

For the vast majority of labourers and agricultural workers, cash payments involved real difficulties in the eleventh and twelfth centuries because their weekly wages were only a small part of the standard coin, the silver penny. The practice of cutting the penny in half or quarters to overcome this problem was ended by the introduction of smaller coins in the mid-thirteenth century, easing some of these transaction difficulties.

Improvements in estate management: the Abbey and Bigod manors

The changes made on the Bury and Bigod estates examined in this thesis demonstrate that additional crops were being grown and harvested using technological improvements such as elimination of fallow and better manuring, as well as additional marginal land being brought into use. On Bury manors, improvements were made to preserve and enhance income from many of the estates. The use of market intelligence and the care taken to preserve the productivity of land indicated a more careful management than has sometimes been credited to monasteries. Some of the adverse criticism of ecclesiastic estate management is likely to have arisen from the retention of traditional food farms, with its implicit restriction on best farming approaches, and the continuing use of tenant services rather than these being commuted for cash, despite lower quality of work. The detailed findings outlined in Chapter Two show that the Abbey's manors kept pace with or exceeded expected increases in value between 1086 and 1291. Their care for the health of the land and their tailoring of crop seeding and weeding to market prices revealed a level of entrepreneurship that has not always been recognised. The improvement in the Abbey's income provided the money that eventually enabled it to complete its great new church.

On the Bigods' manors, the research has shown that they too were concerned to optimise income from their estates whether from increased production, better marketing, more land brought into cultivation or higher rents and charges for their tenants. The detailed research covers 25% of the manors the Bigods held in demesne in 1225 and 30% of their income, and it is likely that this approach was

reflected across all their estates. Although they never reached the rank of the super-rich, such as a Gilbert of Clare or Richard of Cornwall, from knights with a modest amount of land in Normandy in 1066, they were in the top 1% of earners by end of the thirteenth century.

Economic stagnation

With the notable exception of an experiment in management that included the manor of Writtle, the kings' manors researched in Chapter Four suffered from a lack of investment and poor control. Developments in farm management such as those on the Bury and Bigod estates were not systematically employed. As a result, the kings consistently received less income from their manors than they might have done. The manor of Witham was a clear example of this. Once it was transferred to the Templars, income increased significantly. At Writtle the opportunity for increased income was identified and developed, but after a short time more traditional management returned. Royal priorities such as rewarding supporters with land were re-introduced, especially during the turbulent times of the baronial troubles in the late twelfth and late thirteenth centuries. Generally speaking, royal manors were more scattered than those of the Bigods or Bury St. Edmunds and this compounded the difficulty of good control. The kings' lower profits were only affordable because they had other sources of income such as taxes and export duties. A beneficial side effect of this poor control was that it enabled innovative peasants to acquire land and status, become employers and build their own estate complexes.

Town development

The case studies confirm that towns played a major role in generating cash, enabling trade to develop, offering employment in the budding service industries staffed by landless peasants, and providing places where a new range of purchases could be made. For the three groups studied, the towns on their estates fulfilled at least some of these roles; but their different management did to some degree affect their development. Bury St. Edmunds grew steadily, while Colchester's growth faltered after the eleventh century and the Bigod towns of Framlingham and Bungay did not grew beyond their roles as local trading centres.
Bury was developed by the Abbey as a source of income as well as support for its requirements and to provide services for the many pilgrims to St. Edmund's shrine. The Abbey took cash in the form of rents for stalls, houses and trading, and deterred, by force, any markets that it felt would compete with Bury. It also controlled access to the town, thus increasing its income from traders coming to market, and the numbers of churches, thus retaining tithes as well as fees for births, marriages and deaths. It fought to make sure that no other ecclesiastical group such as the Friars could gain a competitive foothold within the walls. The Abbey made a major contribution to the initial success of the town. Abbots obtained the market

lease and licences for two fairs which became internationally important, but just as important were the pilgrims and the Abbey's visitors and their retainers who brought in trade and wealth. This fostered the development of many high-end trades such as goldsmiths. The Abbey itself employed large numbers of service trades such as bakers and brewers, built rented accommodation for them and sponsored five hospitals and a school. The initial market-place was in the centre of the town opposite the Abbey's western entrance, but as the town grew, a much larger new market was established at the western gate, with associated trades and overspill accommodation beyond the town walls. The town's good transport routes, by both river and road, and close links to the surrounding catchment area also promoted growth on a stable base.

In contrast, neither Colchester nor Orford seems to have had significant benefit from being a king's town. In Colchester, while there was a visual impact on the town from Colchester Castle, there seems to have been little economic effect. Unlike the Abbey, which generated a demand for services and supplies, Colchester Castle was rarely fully manned or visited by the king and there are no records of royal visits to Orford. Economically, Colchester burgesses had trading advantages deriving from being a royal borough, which included being able to set a price for provisions and goods in advance of traders coming into the town to sell. They also had a right to share cargoes coming onto the Hythe at the offer price and not the selling price. Yet only a few tradesmen and merchants in the town were wealthy, a much lower proportion than those in Bury. No action was taken to enable Colchester to compete more successfully with nearby Chelmsford, where the bishop built a bridge to ease road connections with London markets and the merchants could not compete with the more accessible seaport of Ipswich. In Orford, the kings' expenditure seems to have benefitted their castle and income, but not much accrued to the townspeople.

Town development by the lay earls in the eastern counties differed from many other areas such as Cornwall. The Bigods did not help to develop the towns on their estates such as Framlingham and Bungay until the fourth Earl Roger sought licences for annual fairs for these two towns late in the thirteenth century. A primary reason for this lack of interest may have been that the land around the Bigod castles was fertile, producing good returns. This contrasts with the much poorer land quality in Devon and Cornwall, where lay lords initiated town development by seeking market licences and laying out areas for burghers to take up and develop. Thetford declined in the twelfth century for other reasons, notably competition from King's Lynn, where initial development of the port was supported by the Bishop of Norfolk. Framlingham remained essentially a local market town, though the successors to the Bigods provided finance for Framlingham Church. Bungay Castle was not occupied after Hugh Bigod left. Other major earls holding great estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, such as the Clares and Warennes, also did not seek additional licences for markets or lay out areas of land for merchant occupation. As with the Bigods, their land was of good quality and developments which served their residences and enhanced their status, such as new religious foundations, may have seemed preferable to encouraging a more extensive new town to increase income.

Differences between the groups

The impacts of population growth, expanding markets and the development of many new towns were different for the three groups. For the kings, the increase in personal incomes, in trade and in the wealth of the church enabled their agents to collect sufficient taxes for them to build their castles and fight their wars. For the Bigod earls, better techniques for cropping, additional population to pay rents and charges and the exploitation of additional lands created the wealth to pay for their castles and support their entry into the upper aristocratic circles. For the Abbots of Bury, increased production on their estates and an increase in the profits they could gather from Bury town enabled them to live in some style and eventually to complete their new Abbey.

The biggest difference between the groups was in estate management. Royalty did not adopt new techniques, and because of alternative income sources could continue to reward followers with land rather than optimising its potential for income generation. For the other two groups, the evidence shows that there was a determination to innovate and an awareness of the importance of markets, supply and demand, and profitability rather than just yield. Both groups also seem to have been aware of the need to replenish and protect the health of the land itself.

Summary

This research has shown that without the transformation to a money economy and economic growth, the eleventh- and twelfth-century building boom encompassing new castles and churches would not have been possible. The research into estate economics has highlighted how the income was generated. More specifically, financial constraints influenced the time taken to build St. Edmund's Abbey and probably the building of the first castle at Framlingham at the end of the twelfth century.

Direct evidence of a lasting economic impact on building design emerged only in the towns, where the merchants built fine stone housing and the need to optimise street fronts for commercial use led to the construction of vaults and undercrofts. They also sponsored municipal buildings with fine architectural detailing such as moot halls, which reflected their aspirations. At the same time, there is evidence from London and York that high-rise, timber-built cheap housing would have been necessary for the majority of town dwellers. The population of Bury and Colchester at the end of the twelfth century would support this, though hard evidence has yet to be found. Both the materials and design would have been influenced by the ability of the poorer classes to pay rents.

It seems likely that the need for income to build as well as to maintain a large retinue, display wealth and entertain lavishly also influenced economic development. For the Abbey and the lay lords, land was the main income source and optimising its productivity was essential. This fostered the development of a strong market economy and thriving towns .The distribution of land after the

Conquest created fewer and much richer landholders able to afford great buildings Equally, donations to the church, an accepted custom especially in the twelfth century, created richer abbeys and bishops. For kings, more people, more markets and more trade led to the development of new and lucrative forms of taxation which supported their building and lifestyle. This shows how economic development was integral to architectural developments for all three landholders. However, architectural developments generally were not essential to economic developments, but were the product of them.

These conclusions result from the specific case studies set in the eastern counties. Research using other manors and other buildings in the three counties would provide additional support or develop different conclusions for comparison. Equally, using the approach in this thesis but in another region — for instance, in the North where post-1066 conflicts had a more dramatic impact — would provide data for assessing whether the conclusions reached here would hold good more widely.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Medieval prices from the 11th to 14th century

Sources: H.E. Hallam, ed**.,** *Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume II 1042-1350* pp.742-749 and C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages* p.230

Year	**Wheat d**		**Oxen d**		**Cow d**	
1080	-		30		20	
				+20%		+50%
1120	-		36		30	
				+11%		+20%
1160-70	38		40		36	
		+11%		+90%		+101%
1200-10	42 (42)*		76		74	
		+21%		+42%		+24%
1240-50	51 (52)*		108		92	
		+20%		+16%		-4%
1280-90	61 (65)*		125		88	
		+31%		+16%		+23%
1320-30**	-		-		-	
1347-56	80 (78)*		145		108	
1370	(72)*					

* comparable figures listed in Dyer

** omitted because of extreme price fluctuations which would skew the outcomes. e.g index for 1275- 136; 1280- 99; 1286- 182; 1287- 91) H. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins *A Perspective of Wages and Prices* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp.44-45.

Average percentage changes from three commodities:

1080-1120	+35%
1120-1160	+16%
1160-1200	+67%
1200-1240	+27%
1240-1280	+11%
1280-1350	+23%

Appendix 2. The manors of the estates of Bury St. Edmund's Abbey referred to in Chapter Two

A.Rumble, ed., *Suffolk Domesday Book* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986) Part One

14.5 Chevington: St. Edmund's holds Chevigton as a manor**;** 6 carucates of land: always 13 villagers; 9 smallholders. Always 4 ploughs in lordship; always 4 men's ploughs. Then 6 slaves, now 7. Meadow, 10 acres; woodland, 100 pigs, Now 7 cobs, 22cattle, 30 pigs, now 140 sheep, 40 goats, 3 beehives.
1 freeman with 30 acres of land.
2 smallholders, Always 1 plough. Meadow 1 acre; woodland 4 pigs.
Over him St Edmunds has full jurisdiction and patronage with every customary due. He could not grant or sell the land without permission.
A church with 30 acres of free land.
Value of this manor then £6; now £10. It has 10 furlongs in length and 8 in width. 6½d in tax.

14.20 Elvedon St. Edmund's held Elvedon before 1066 as a manor**;**
2 carucates of land. Always 4 villagers; 4 smallholders; 1 slave
Then 2 ploughs in lordship now 1; always 1½ men's ploughs.
Now 2 cobs, 4 cattle, 12 pigs, 260 sheep, 13 goats. The fourth part of a fishery. A church, 15 acres of free land.
4 Free men and a half with 1 carucate of land. 3 smallholders. Then 3 ploughs, now 2; These free men could grant and sell the land but the full jurisdiction, patronage and service still belonged to St. (Edmund's).
Value then 10s; now 15 (s)
Vakue of this manor except for the free (men), then 30s now 40s
It has 1 league in length and likewise 1 league in width; 20d in tax. Several hold there.

14.74 Hinderclay: St. Edmund's held Hinderclay as a manor**;** 4 carucates of land. Then 6 villagers, now 8; then 8 smallholders, now 12. Then 6 ploughs in lordship, now 5, then 10 slaves, now 8; always 2 men's ploughs.
Meadow, 8 acres; woodland, 60 pigs. Now 3 cobs,8 cattle, 20 pigs, 60 sheep.
7 freemen with 40 acres of land. Always 2 ploughs.
A church with 1 acre of free land in alms.
Value of this manor always £8. It has 1 league in length and 6 furlongs in width; 5 1/2d in tax. Another holds there.

14.69 Ingham: Before 1066 a certain man-at-arms of St. Edmund's, Wulfwy, held Ingham from it as a manor. Now St. (Edmund's) holds it itself. 3 carucates of land; a fourth carucate lies in another Hundred.
Always 1 villager; 2 smallholders: then 3 ploughs in lordship now 4; always 1 men's plough. Then 3 now 9 slaves; Meadow 27acres; 1 mill Now 4 cobs, 19 cattle, now 30 pigs, 520 sheep.

21 freemen with 1 carucate of land; always 7 ploughs; 2 acres meadow. These freemen all belong to St. (Edmund's) with full jurisdiction and every customary due, and (they) belong to the fold. Nor could they grant or sell without the Abbot's permission.
A church, 24 acres of free land in alms.
Value of this manor then £4 now (£) 8.
It has 16 furlongs in length and 8 in width; 16d in tax, but the king holds there.

14.49 Pakenham: St. Edmund's held Pakenham before 1066 as a manor; 7 carucates. Always 44 villagers; 23 smallholders. Then 3 ploughs in lordship, now 4; always 23 men's ploughs. Then 6 slaves, now 9.
Meadow, 26 acres; woodland 100 pigs; then 2 mills, now 1; 3 cobs, 48 cattle, 65 pigs, 190 sheep, now 8 beehives.
31 freemen, 1 small holder; 2 carucates of land. Always 11 ploughs between them. Meadow 3 acres. They have all always belonged to St. Edmunds with full jurisdiction and every customary due and (have always belonged) to the fold
In the same (Pakenham) 3 free men with 30 acres of land. Always 1 plough. Woodland 4 pigs.
These (free men) could grant and sell the land but the full jurisdiction and patronage still belonged to St. (Edmund's).
In the same Pakenham 1 free man with 1 carucate of land prevailed upon the Abbot to lease to him ½ carucate of land by such an agreement that the whole of his land wherever it might be should belong to St Edmund's after his death. Now 1 carucate of this land lies in Pakenham in lordship. 1 plough

5 smallholders; 2 slaves. A winter mill.
St (Edmund's) always had patronage and full jurisdiction over him.
30 acres belong to the church of this village in alms of free land.
Value of Pakenham with these things which belong to it then £10 now £25. It has 16 furlongs in length and 1 league in width; 13 1/2d in tax.[943]
Pakenham remained a food farm in 1086.

14.42 Redgrave: St. Edmund's held Redgrave before 1066; 6 carucates of land as a manor. Always 10 villagers; 19 smallholders. Then 8 slaves, now 6.
Always 4 ploughs in lordship; 6 men's ploughs. Meadow 8 acres; woodland, 120 pigs.
A church with 30 acres of free land. ½ plough.
2 cobs, 12 cattle, 30 pigs, 60 sheep, 30 goats.
Value always £10.
In the same Redgrave 24 freemen under the patronage and jurisdiction of the abbot; 80 acres. Always 8 ploughs.
Value always 30s.

[943] *Suffolk Domesday* 14.49

It has 1 league in length and ½ in width; 8d in tax.
The Abbot holds this in lordship.

14.103 Worlingworth: St. Edmund's held Worlingworth before 1066 as a manor**;** 6 carucates of land with the jurisdiction. Always 16 villagers; 14 small holders; 1 slave. Always 2 ploughs in lordship; always 12 men's ploughs.
Meadow, 16 acres; woodland at 100 pigs; Always 2 horses, 8 cattle, 24 pigs, 25 sheep, 33 goats. Now 6 beehives.
1 free man: 20 acres.
A church, 10 acres of free land. Value then £6 now £8.
It has 1 league in length and 5 furlongs in width: 101/2 d in tax.[944]

[944] Ibid 14.105

Appendix 3. Bigod manors in Norfolk and Suffolk

Norfolk

P.Brown, ed., *Domesday Book Norfolk* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984)

1.151 Acle: Earl Ralph the Elder held ACLE before 1066, 5 carucates of land: Always 23 villagers, Then 38 smallholders, later 30. Now 38. Then 3 slaves.
Always 3 ploughs in lordship. Then and later 10 men's ploughs, now 12.
Meadow 50 ½ acres; woodland for 40 pigs, later and now 1 mill. Always 3 cobs; 2 head of cattle; 20 pigs; 120 sheep; Later 1 beehive, now 15.
Also 4 freemen, at ½ c. of land Always 1 plough, meadow 4 acres.
Value then £8 later 12 now £14 13s 4d: 53s of this by reckoning and it pays the rest blanched.

1.152 Halvergate: Earl Ralph held Halvergate before 1066**,** 6 carucates of land.
Always 6 villagers, then and later 46 smallholders now 50. Then 3 slaves; Then 4 ploughs in lordship later and now 3. Then 7 men's ploughs, later and now 9.
Meadow 30 acres, 1 salt house, always 2 cobs, 7 head of cattle, 13 pigs, 260 sheep.
Always 13 Freemen at ½ c of landand 15 acres of land. Always 21/2 ploughs; meadow 6 acres.
Value then £8 later £9; now £10 blanched and 40s in customary dues at face value, premium of 20s.
It has 1 1 league in length and 1 in width, tax of 2s. Besides the sheep mentioned above, 700 sheep belong to this manor. It pays 100s.

1.155 South Walsham: 1 freeman of Gyrth's before 1066 1 c of land.
Always 3 smallholders, ½ plough, 20 acres meadow, woodland 7 pigs, ½ salt house.
Also 17 freemen, 1 carucate of land and 1½ ploughs; 12 acres of meadow Also in the same(village) 1 freeman at 30 acres, 2 smallholders 1½ ploughs.
Also under him 6 freemen with 6 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow. Always 1 plough, now and later.
Also in the same 11 freemen with 16 acres of land and 2 of meadow and 1 plough.
1.204: Thrigby, 6 freemen have 40 acres and 1 plough ½ salt house and 4 acres of meadow.
Value of 9s in outlying jurisdiction of **South Walsham** and King and Earl have jurisdiction.

9.98 Forncett: Coleman, a free man under Stigand held Forncett, 1 c of land. Then 1 villager, later and now 2. Also 1 church, 15 acres. Then 8 smallholders, later 10, now 14. Always 2 ploughs in lordship; 2 men's ploughs, meadow 12 acres. Then 2 cobs, now 5. Then10 head of cattle now 12. Then 1 sheep now 80, then 1 pig now 18.
Also 3 freemen. 27 acres. Then 1 plough now ½.
Also 1 outlier, Aslacton, 80 acres**.**
[Further entries of freemen with small acreage, small acreage of land and meadow]

Value of the whole then 80s now 100s 10d. The King and the earl have the jurisdiction.

Suffolk

A Rumble, ed., *Domesday Book Suffolk* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986)
4.42 Framlingham: Aelmer a thane held FRAMLINGHAM. Now Roger Bigot holds (it).
9 carucates of land **as a manor.**
Then 24 villagers, now 32; then 16 smallholders, now 28.
Then 5 ploughs in lordship. now 3; then 20 men's ploughs, now 16.
Woodland, 100 pigs; meadow, 16 acres. Then 2 cobs, now 3; then 4 cattle, now 7; then 40 pigs, now 10; then 20 sheep, now 40 always 60 goats; now 3 beehives.
Value then £16; now £36.
In the same (Framlingham) Munulf held, half under the patronage of Aelmer and half (under that) of Malet's predecessor, 1 carucate of land and 40 acres as a manor.
Always 4 villagers; 12 smallholders; 2 ploughs in lordship; 2 ½ men's ploughs.
Woodland 100 pigs; meadow 6 acres; 8 cattle, 20 pigs, 60 sheep, 40 goats, 4 beehives.
Value always 40s
William Malet was in possession. Under him 6 whole freemen and 4 half (freemen); 30 acres of land; always 1 plough. Meadow 1 acre. They are in the assessment of 40s.
In the same (Framlingham 1 free man under patronage: 40 acres.
1 villager who dwells in *Ethereg: 3 smallholders. Meadow 1 acre, 1 plough, Woodland 4 pigs.*
Value 8s.
In the same (Framlingham) 3 free men under patronage; 56 acres. Always 3 ploughs; meadow 2 acres; woodland 4 pigs.
Value 17s.
1 church, 60 acres.
1 villager; 4 smallholders, 2 ploughs, Value 15s.
In length 14 furlongs, and 12 in width; 20d in tax. (St.) Etheldreda (had) the jurisdiction but (Earl) Hugh's predecessor had it from it.
1,110 Bungay: Stigand held Bungay before 1066: 9 carucates of land as a manor.
Always 20 villagers; 16 smallholders, Then 6 slaves now 3. The 3 ploughs in lordship now 2; always 12 ½ men;'s ploughs.
Meadow 29 acres, 2 ½ mills, woodland for 100 pigs. Always 2 cobs, 4 cattle, 3 pigs, 9 sheep, 60 goats. 1 church, 5 acres.
Value then 100s, now it pays £12.
In the same village 1 free man, Wulfmer, under the patronage of Stigand; …carucate of land as 1 manor.

Always 3 villagers; 6 smallholders. Always 1 plough in lordship; 1 men's plough. Woodland for 20 pigs, meadow 2 acres, 4 cobs, 3 cattle, 6 pigs, 20 sheep, 16 goats. [Then several different plots for free men are listed with a total of 86 acres in land]. Value of the king's part now 18s 8d but it pays 14s 4d.

1.11 Bungay: [This entry lists acreages, 24 freemen holding between them 245 acres with 3 churches.] 273 held under the patronage of Stigand and 3 churches.

Appendix 4. The King's manors in Essex

A Rumble, ed. *Domesday Book Essex* (Chichester, Phillimore, 1983)

1.2 Witham: Harold held Witham before 1066 as 1 manor, for 5 hides. Now Peter the sheriff has charge of this manor, in the King's hand.
Then 2 ploughs in lordship, now 3.
Then 21villagers, now 15; then 9 smallholders, now 10; hen 6 slaves, now 9. Then 23 Freemen, now the same. Then 18 men's ploughs, now 7; this loss was in the time of Sheriffs Swein and Baynard, and through the cattle plague.
Woodland,150 pigs; meadow, 30 acres; pasture, which then paid 6d, now 14d; always 1 mill.
The aforesaid Freemen, who have 2 ploughs, hold 2 hides and 1 virgate. Then in total, value £10; now £20, but the Sheriff receives from it £34 between his customary dues and the pleas of the Half-Hundred, and £4 in gifts.
In the lordship of this manor Peter acquired 4…, 24 cattle, 136 pigs and 101 sheep; now wholly the same.
[Additionally at Witham there were 34 freemen with a range of acreage of land rented from eight different sub-landlords and valued before 1066 at £13 18s and in 1086 at £12 9s].

1.9 Great Chesterford: Earl 'Edgar' held (Great) CHESTERFORD before 1066 as 1 manor for 10 hides. Now Picot the sheriff (holds it) in the King's hand. Always 4 ploughs in lordship. Then 18 men's ploughs: later and now 14. Always 24 villagers; 13 smallholders; 6 slaves.
Woodland, 1000 pigs; meadow, 15 acres; always 2 mills.
(In the lands of) this manor lie 1½ hides which are in Cambridgeshire. Always 7 villagers; 3 smallholders; a mill; 3 men's ploughs.

Value of the whole then £24 later and now £30.
In the lordship of this manor are 2 cobs, 7 cattle, 61 pigs, 81 sheep and 87 goats.

Attached to this manor before 1066 were 1½ hides which Hadwinof Scales holds, but the Hundred does not know how; ½ hide was of lordship (land) in which 1 man dwelt; 1 freeman who paid suit in the King's manor held the other hide. Also Picot holds ½ hide which 1 freeman held before 1066. In these 2 hides, 2 ploughs.
Value 40s.

1.4 Havering (atte-Bower): Harod held Havering (atte Bower) before 1066 as 1 manor for 10 hides. Then 41 villagers, now 40. Always 41 smallholders; 6 slaves. 2 ploughs in lordship. Then 41 men's ploughs, now 40.
Woodland, 500 pigs; meadow, 100 acres; now 1 mill. 2 cobs, 10 cattle, 160 pigs and 269 sheep.
Attached to this manor before 1066 were 4 freemen with 4 hides who paid the customary due. Now Robert son of Corbucion holds 3 hides and Hugh de Montfort the fourth hide, and they have paid the customary due since they had them. And

besides, Robert also holds 4½ hides which 1 freeman held in this manor before 1066. Also associated was 1 Freeman with 30 acres who payd the customary dues. Now John, son of Waleran holds him.

Value to this manor before 1066 £36; now [£] 40. Peter tthe sheriff receives from it £80 in dues and £10 in gifts.

1.24 Writtle: Harold held Writtle before 1066 as a manor for 16 hides. Now King William (holds it) for 14 hides. Then 100 villagers less 3, later and now 73; then 36 smallholders, later and now 60; then 24 slaves, later and now 18.
Then 12 ploughs in lordship, later and now 9. Then among the men 64 ploughs, later and now 45. Woodland, then 1500 pigs, now 1200; meadow, 80 acres; then 1 mill, now 2. Always 9 cobs, 5 foals, 40 cattle, 318 sheep and 172 pigs'
Then this manor paid 10 nights' provisions and £10; now it pays £100 by weight and 100s in gifts.
[Details ofsmall separate holdings where values were included in the manor total]
In Writtle, the bishop also holds 2 hides and 20 acres, of which 1 (hide) was in the (hands of the) church before 1066 and the other was in the King's holding. Always 3 villagers, 1 priest. Then 2 smallholders, now 8; then 2 slaves. Always 1 plough in lordship; 2 men's ploughs. Woodland, 100 pigs; meadow, 8 acres.

Value 50s.

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Figures

Chapter One

Figure 1.1 Nave of Ely Cathedral

Figure 1.2 Earl's Barton Church

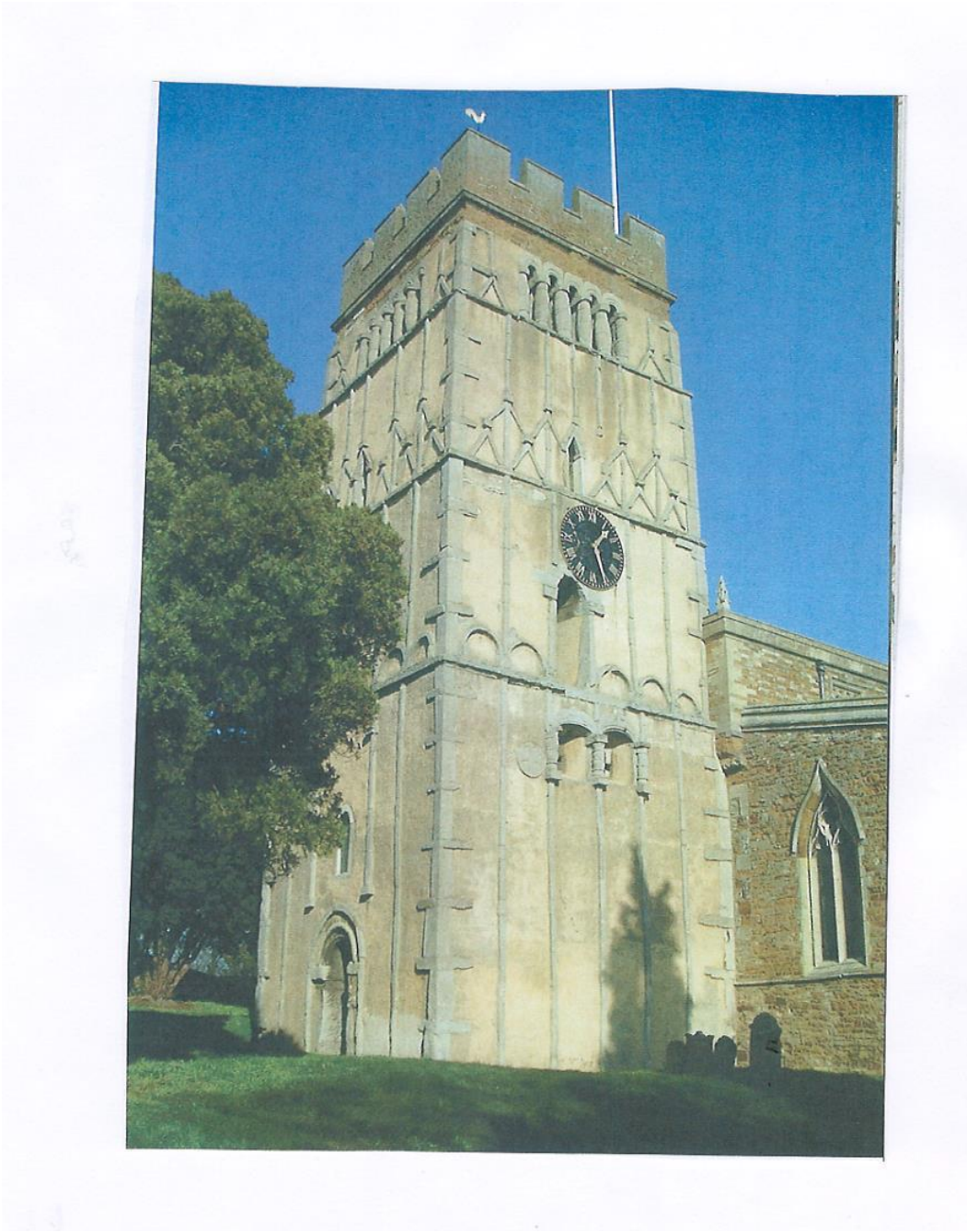
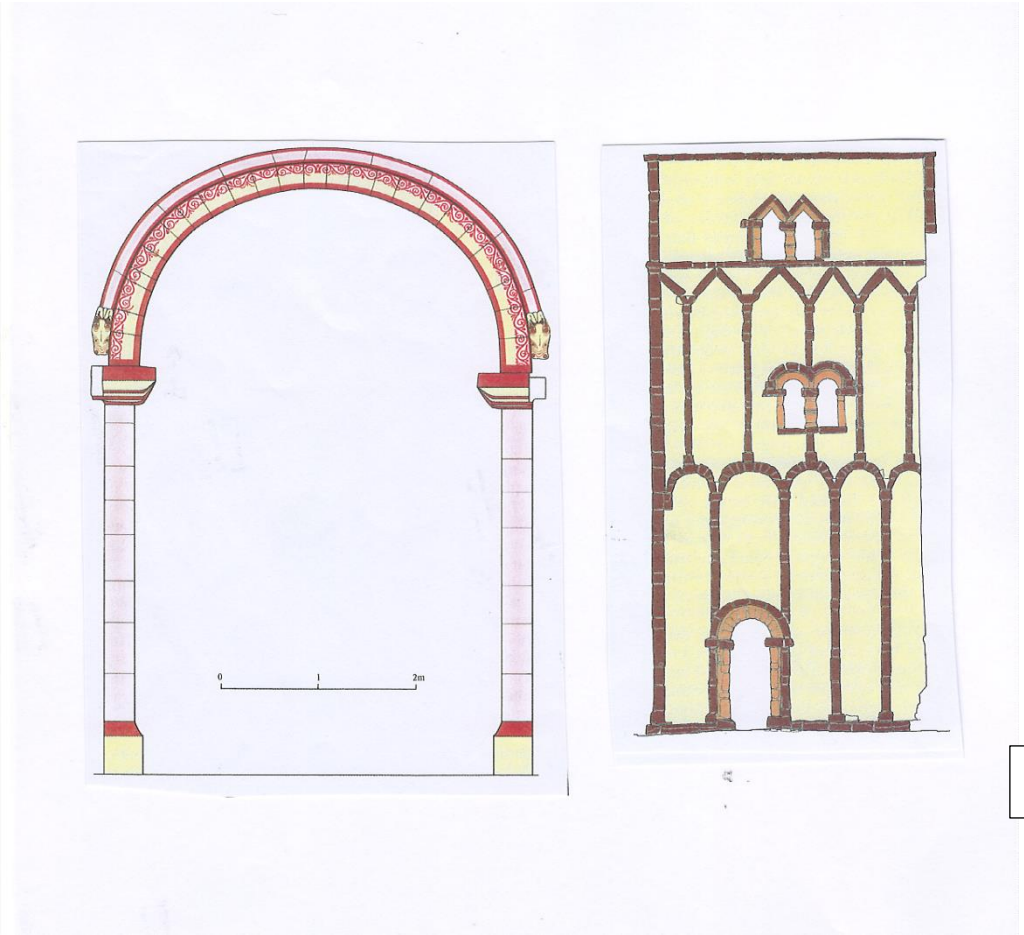


Figure 1.3. Escomb Church nave

Figure 1.4 Anglo-Saxon church decoration



4a

4b

Figure 1.5 Oakham Hall from the east

Figure 1.6 Nave of St. Etienne, Caen

Figure 1.7 Castle Acre Priory, facade

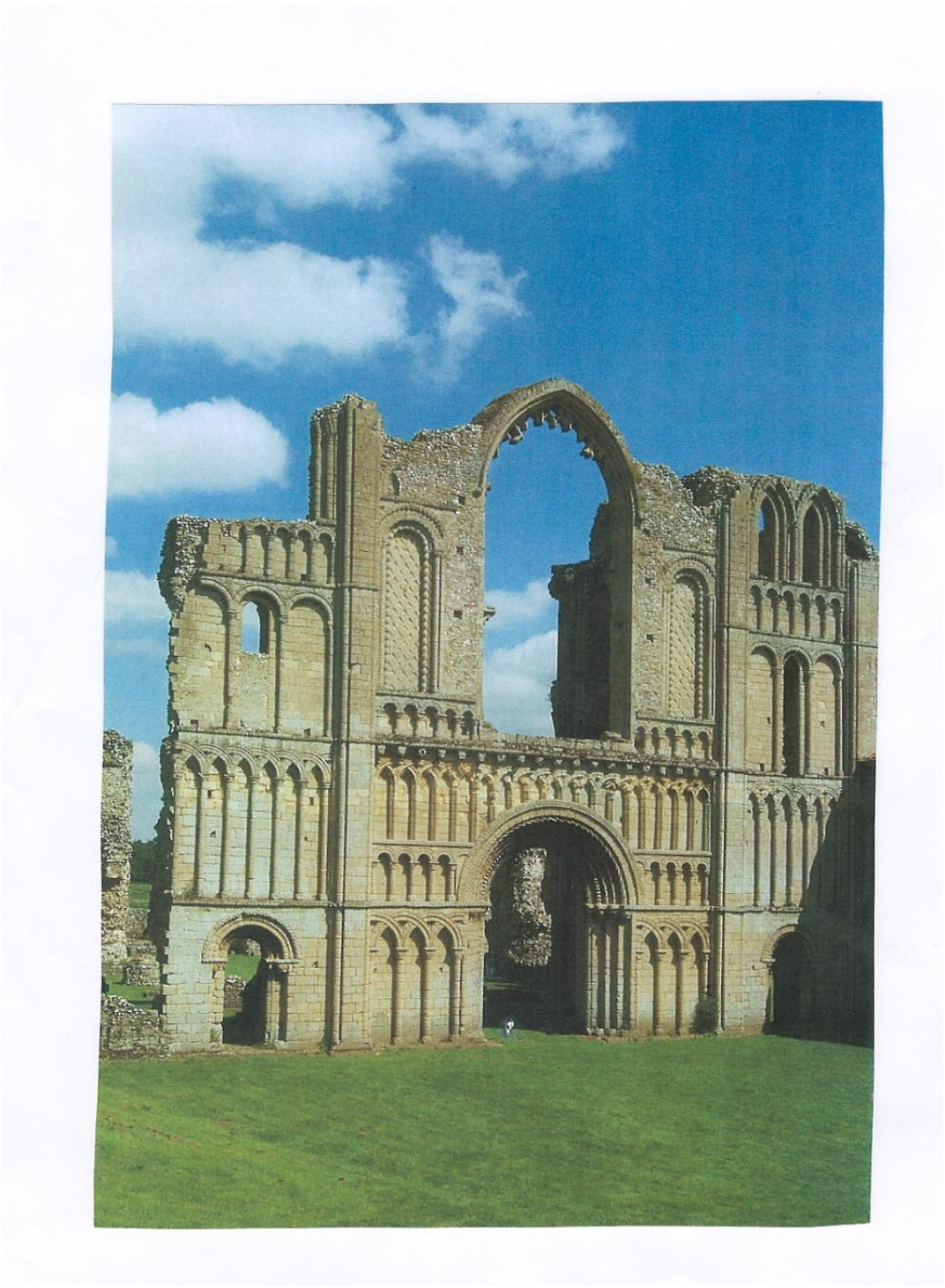


Figure 1.8 The chapel in the White Tower dedicated to St. John

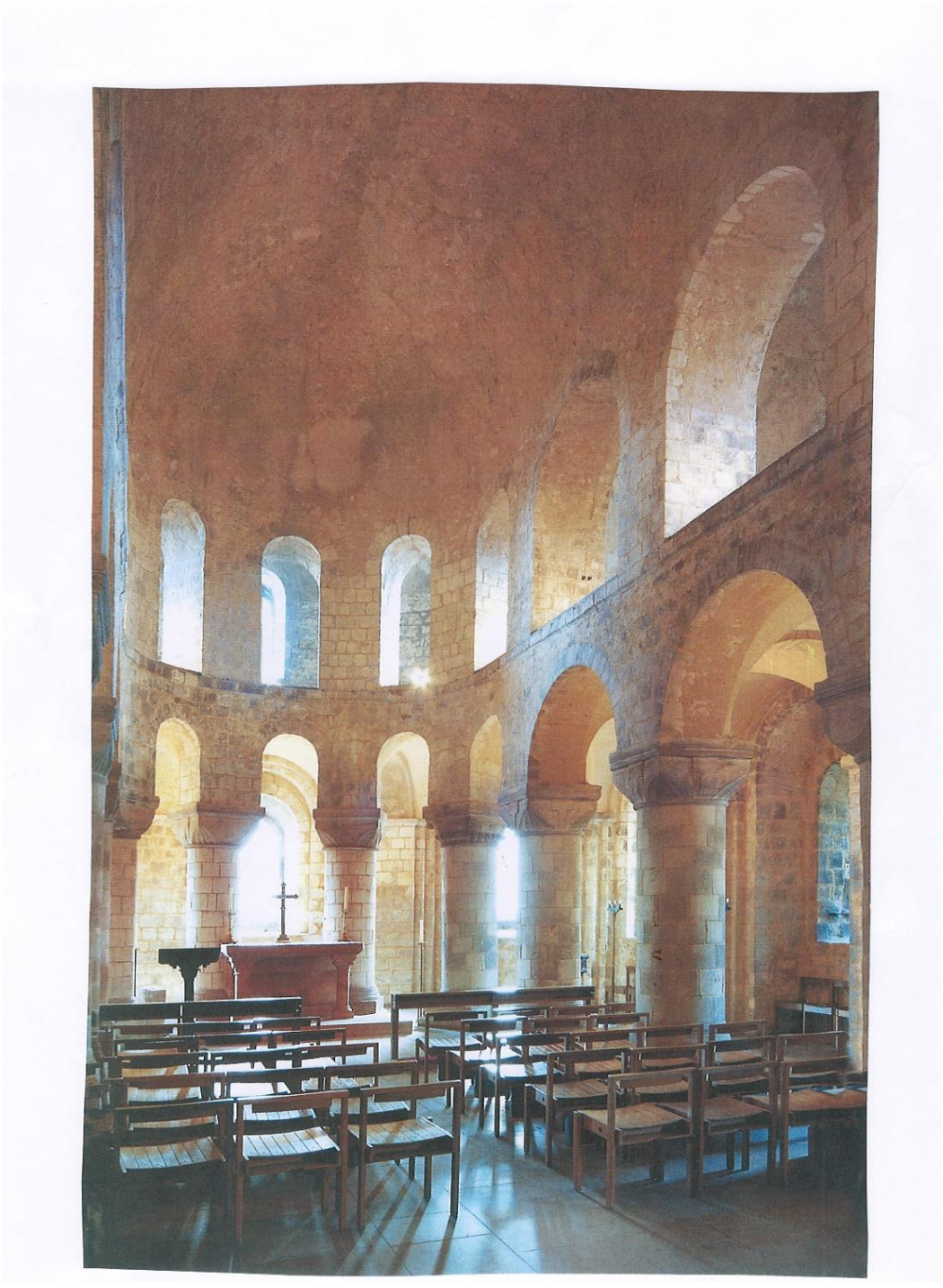


Figure 1.9 Feasting in an upper hall: Bayeux Tapestry

Plates 3 and 4 from the Folio Society 1973 publication

Figure 1.10 Cuxham, Oxfordshire: conjectural drawing of manor complex

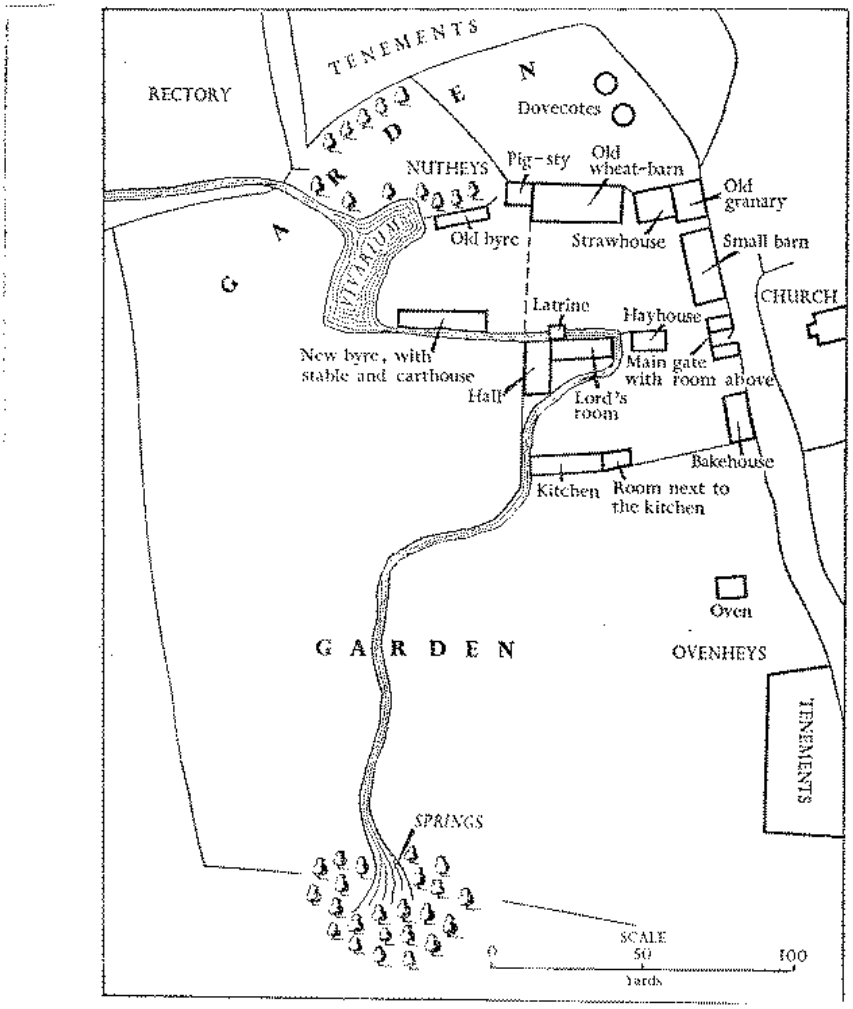


Figure 1.11 Merchant houses in Burgundy

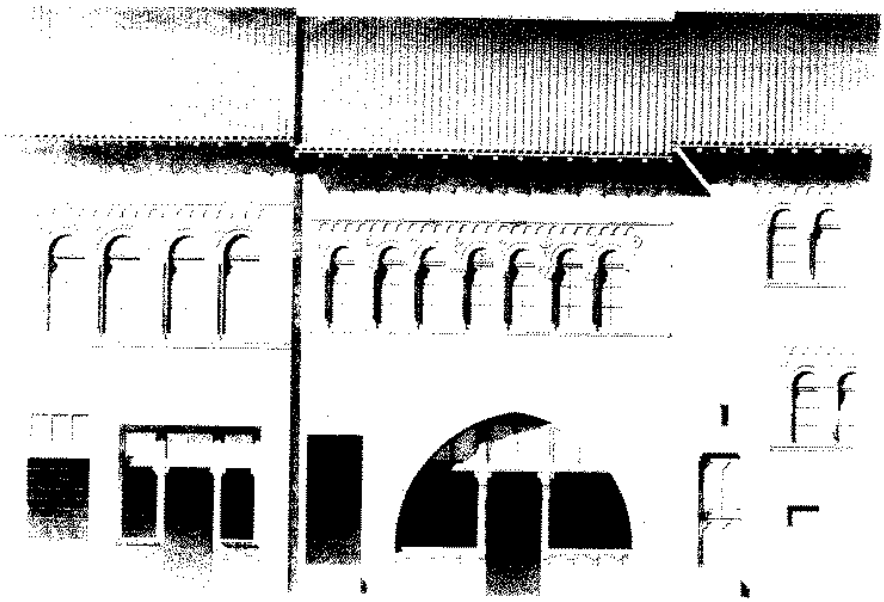
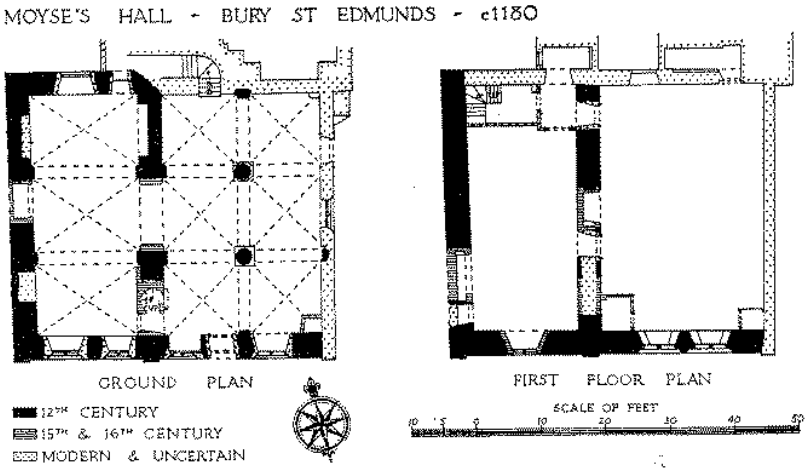


Figure 1.12 Exterior of Moyses Hall, Bury St. Edmunds

Figure 1.13 Moyses Hall , Bury St. Edmunds: schematic plan of interior



Chapter Two

Figure 2.1 The Norman Tower at Bury St. Edmunds

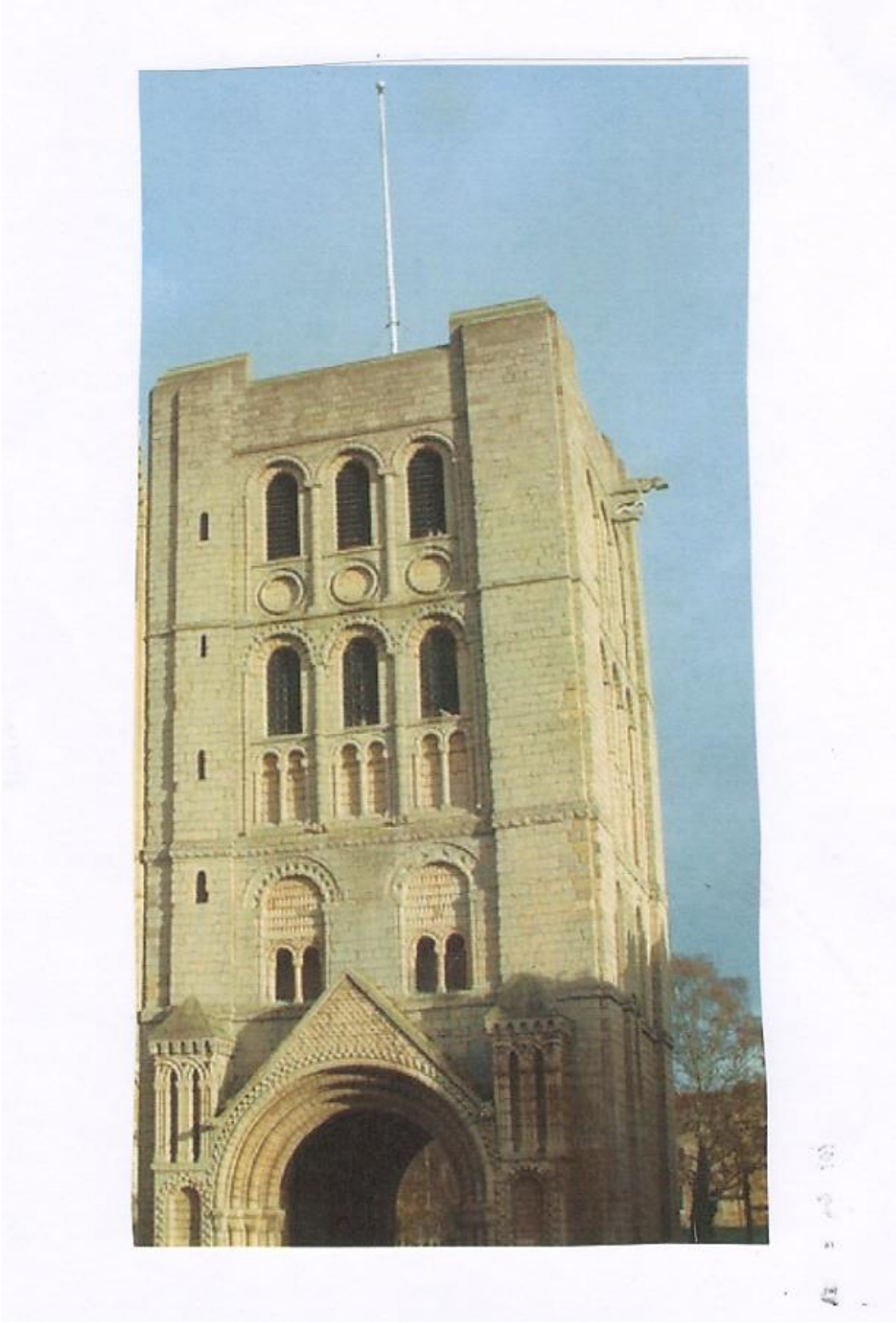


Figure 2.2 Reconstruction of the Abbey Church at Bury St. Edmunds

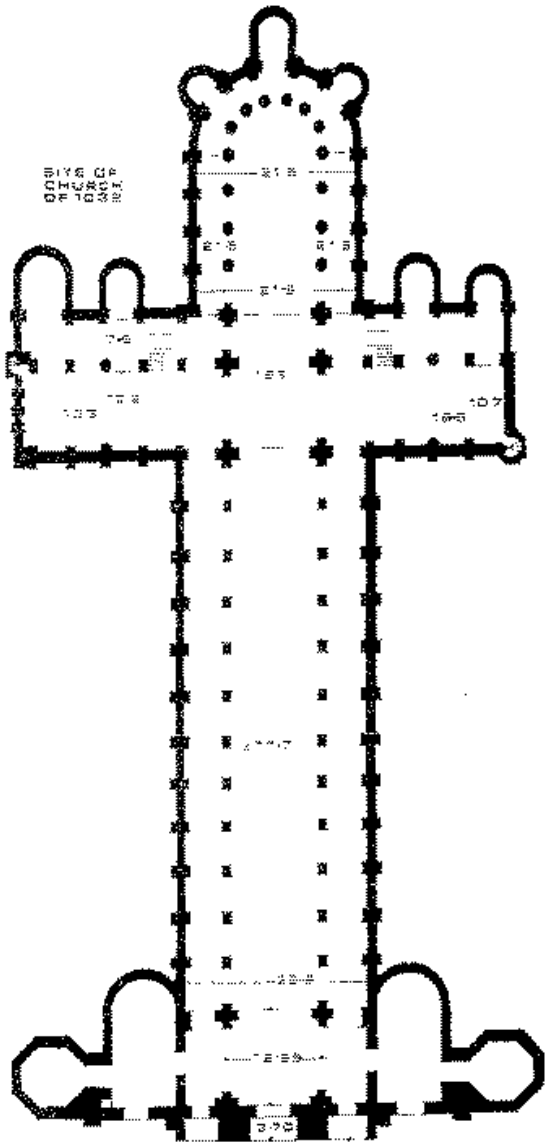


Figure 2.3 Conjectural drawing of St. Edmund's Abbey before the Reformation

Dimensions of the west towers and chapels have been disputed

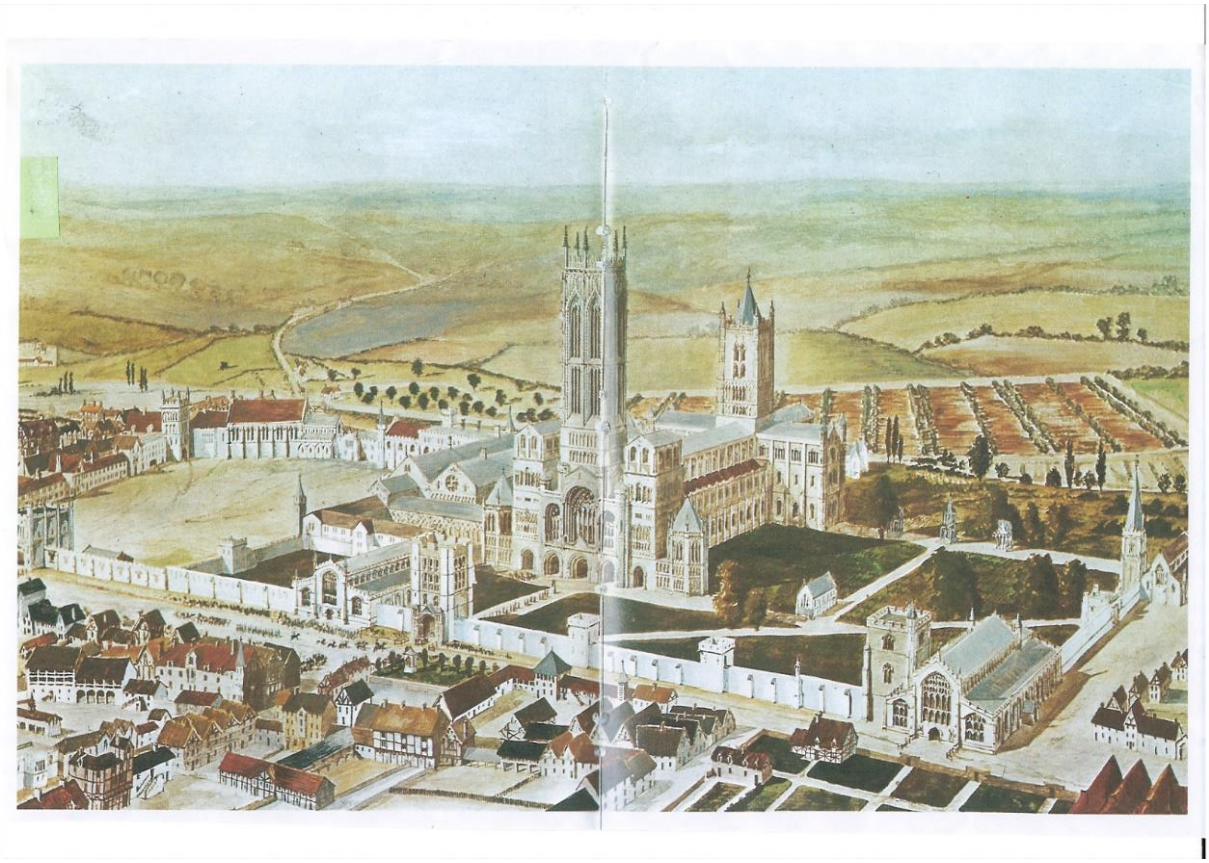


Figure 2.4 Map of Bury Precinct drawn by A. Whittingham, 1959

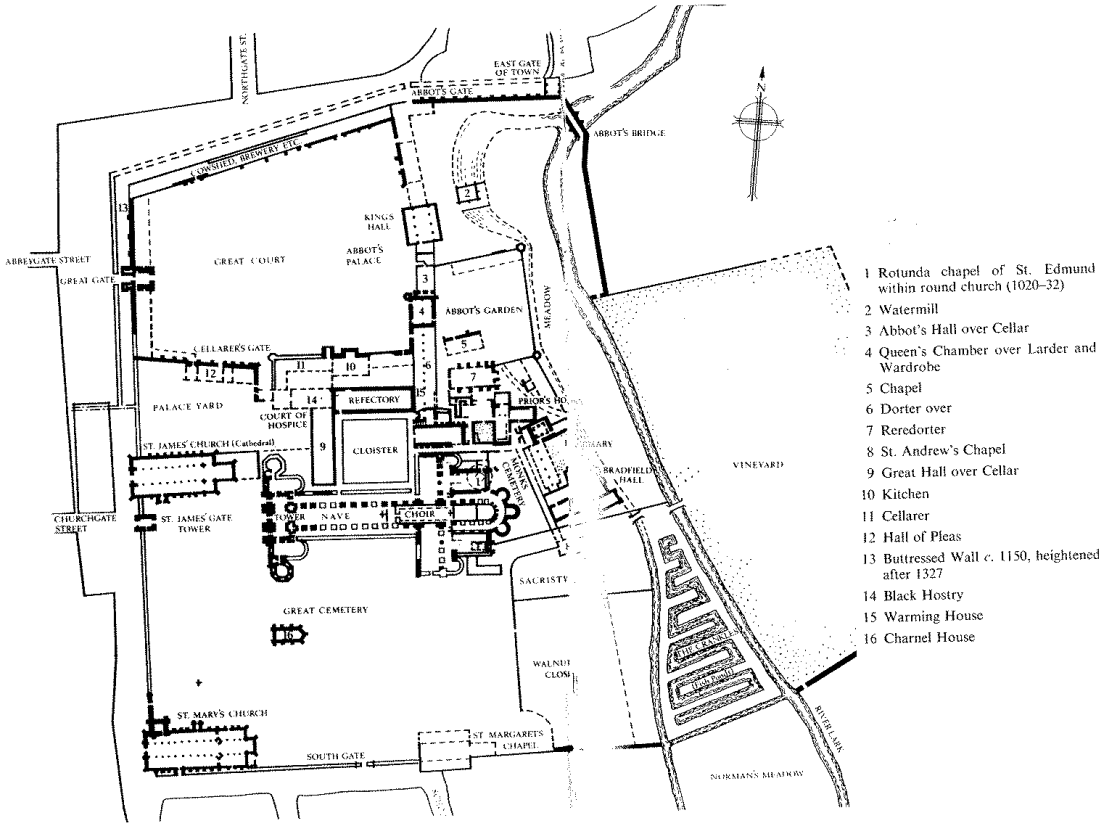


Figure 2.6 Schematic plan of the Abbey Church at St. Edmunds. Drawn by M.R. James in 1895

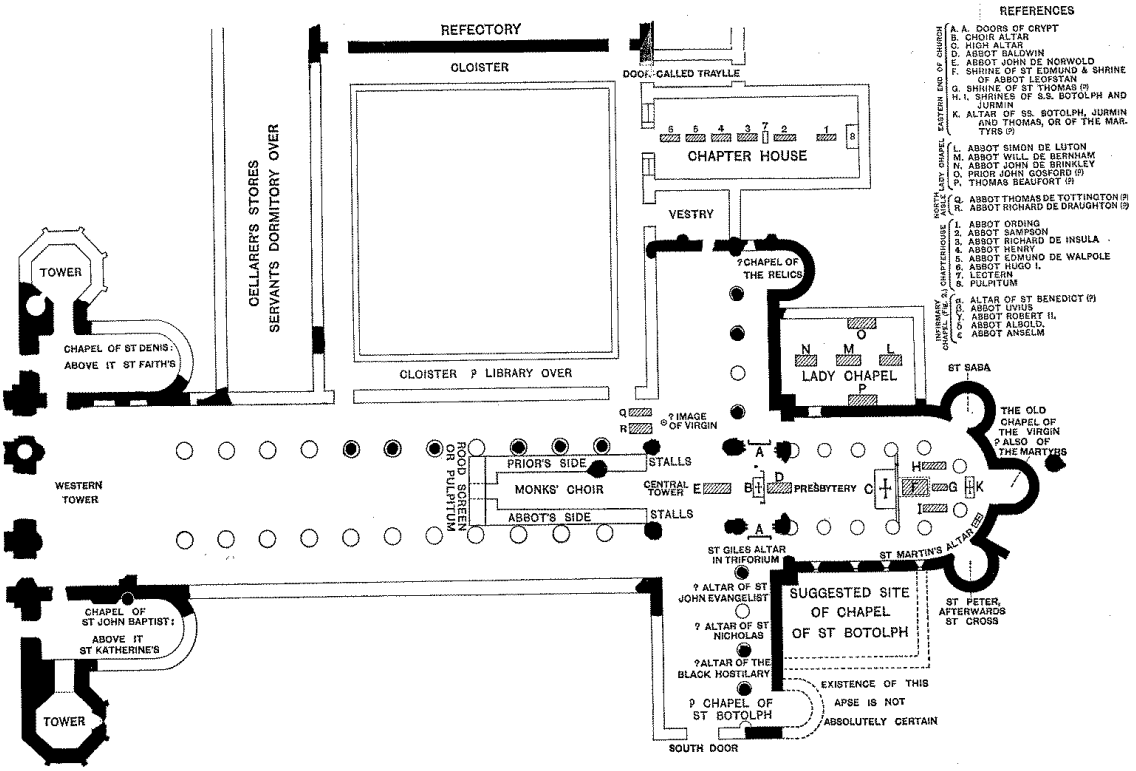


Figure 2.7 Brixworth Saxon Church

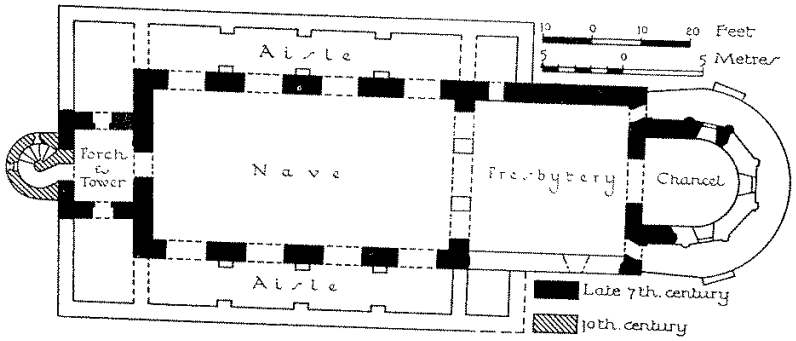


Figure 2.8 Conjectural drawing of Bury Abbey east end towers

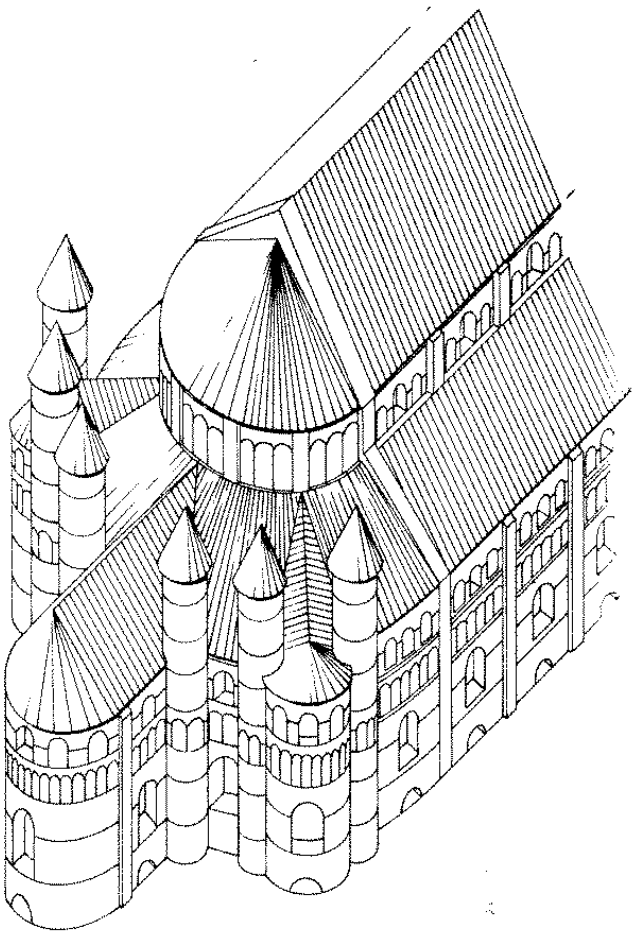


Figure 2.9 West front of Ely Cathedral

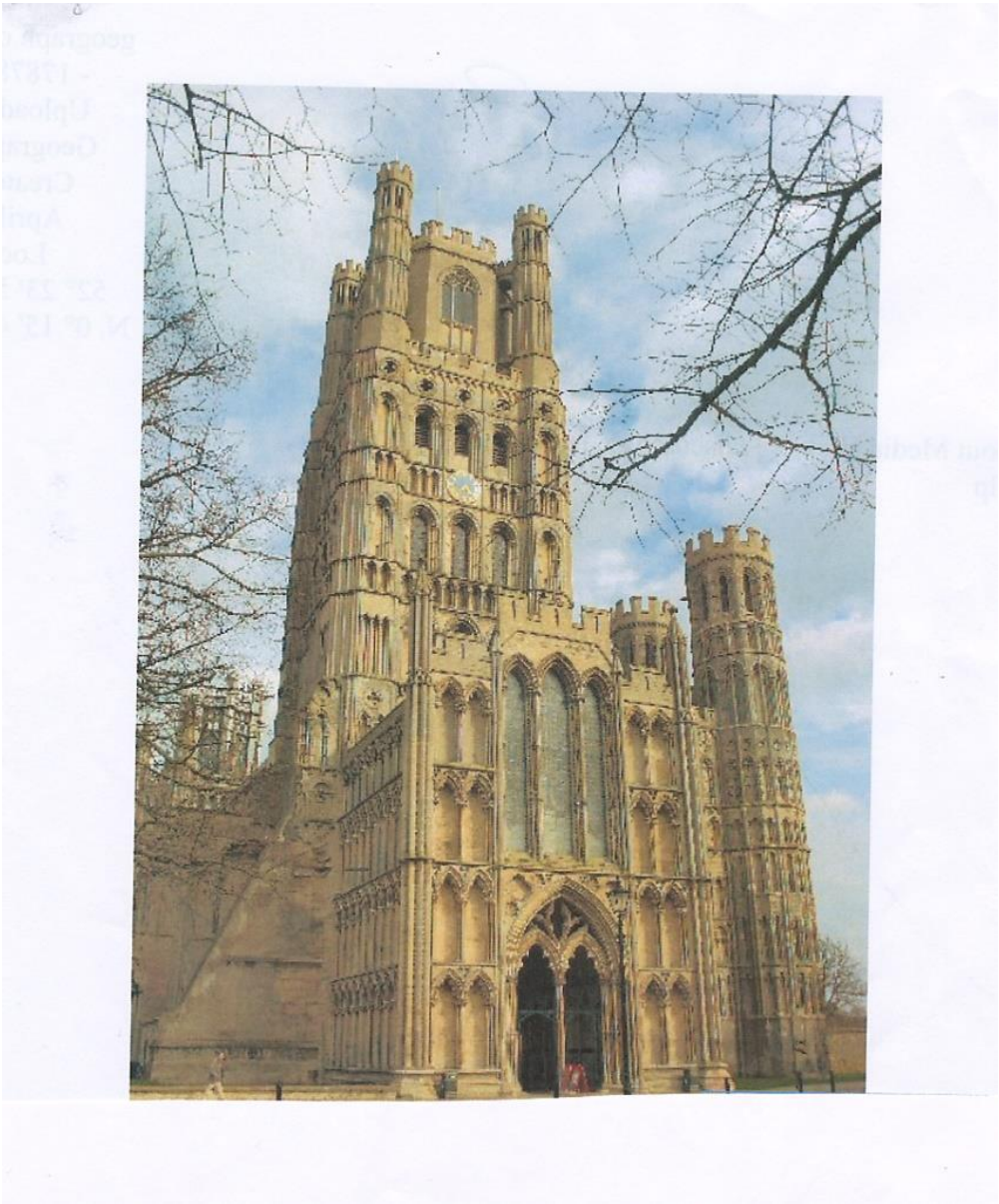


Figure 2.10 West front of Durham Cathedral

Figure 2.11 Caen: Abbaye aux Hommes, west front

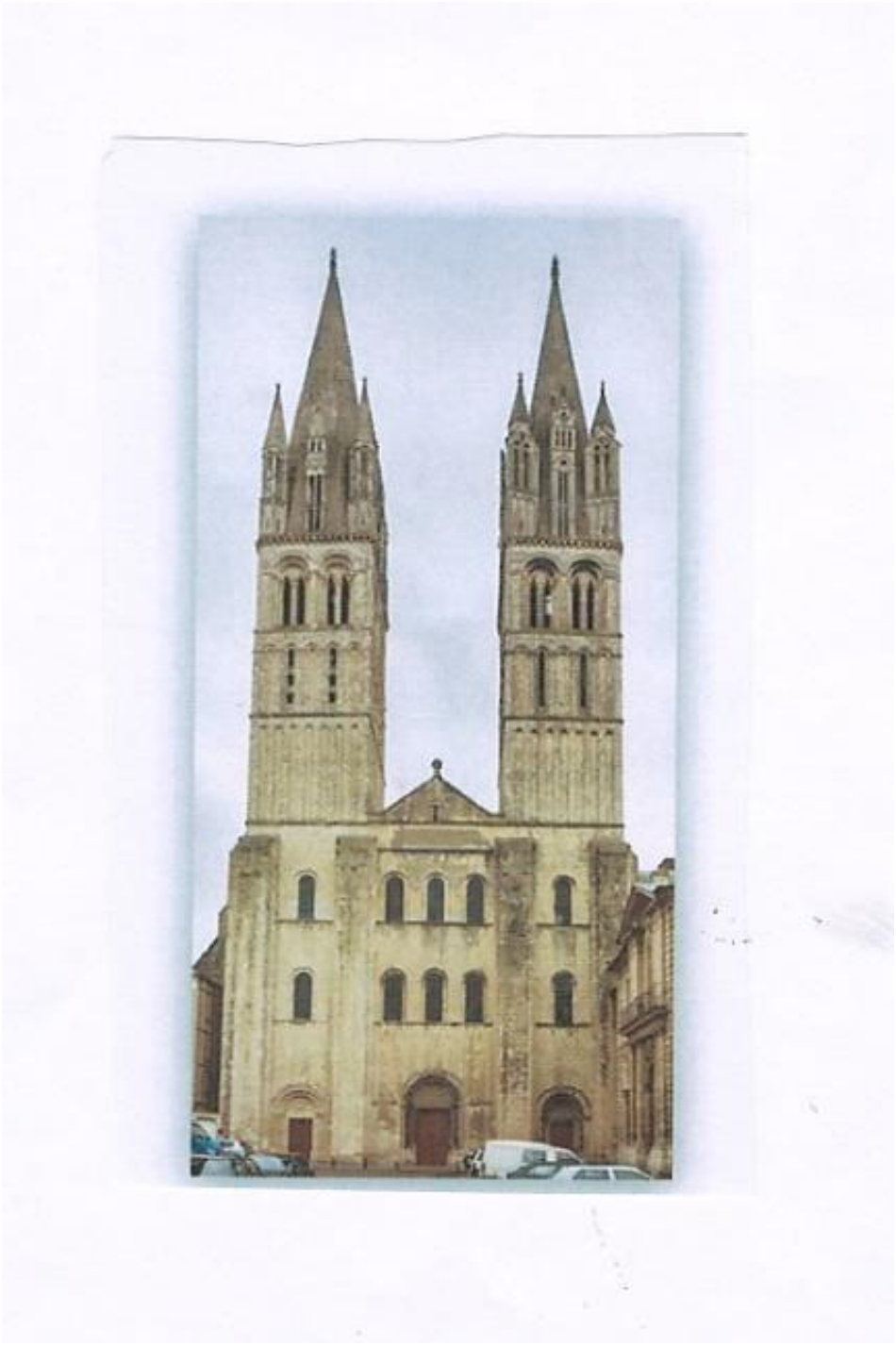


Figure 2.12 West front of Juneiges Abbey

Figure 2.13 Nave of Norwich Cathedral

Figure 2.14 Bury St. Edmunds as a transport hub

Figure 2.15 Street map of Bury town

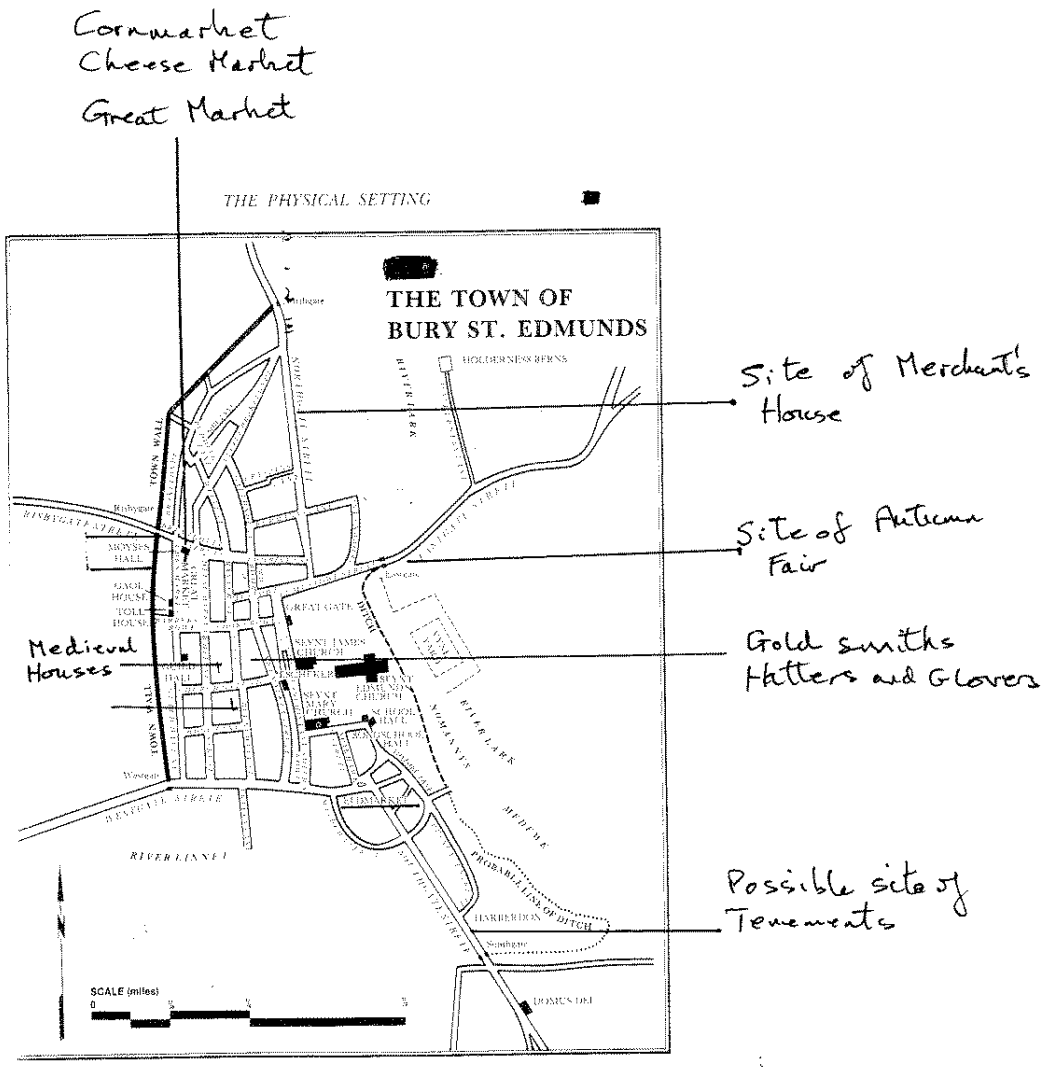


Figure 2.16 Medieval urban house design

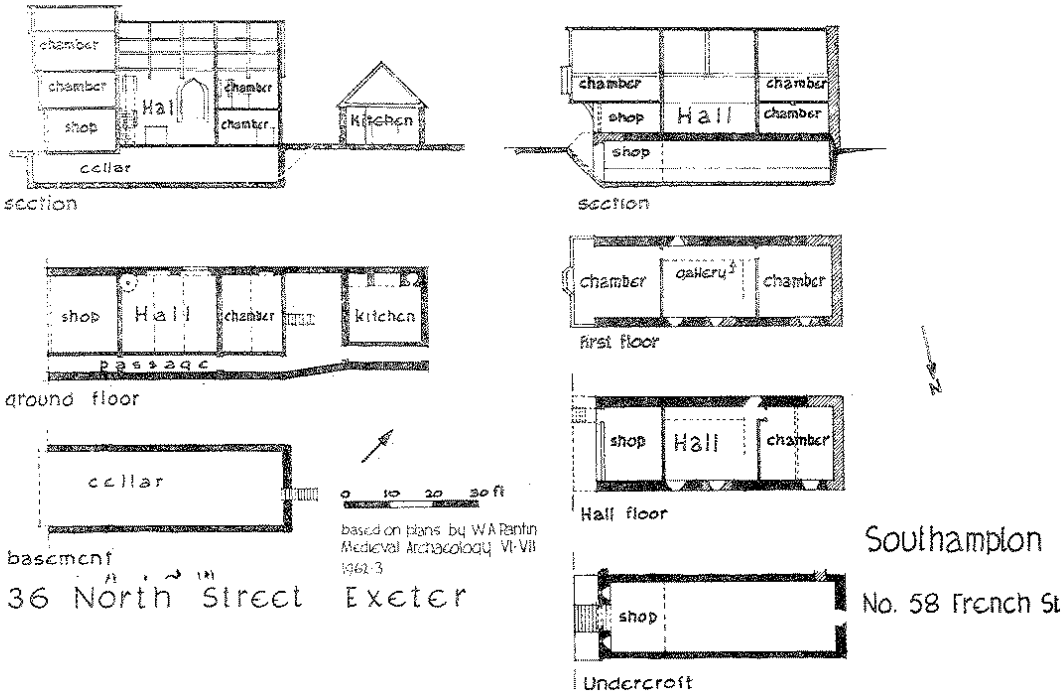


Figure 2.17 Crypt of Moyses Hall, Bury St. Edmunds

Figure 2.18 61-62 Whiting Street, Bury St. Edmunds

Figure 2.19 Bury St. Edmund's Guildhall – inner arch

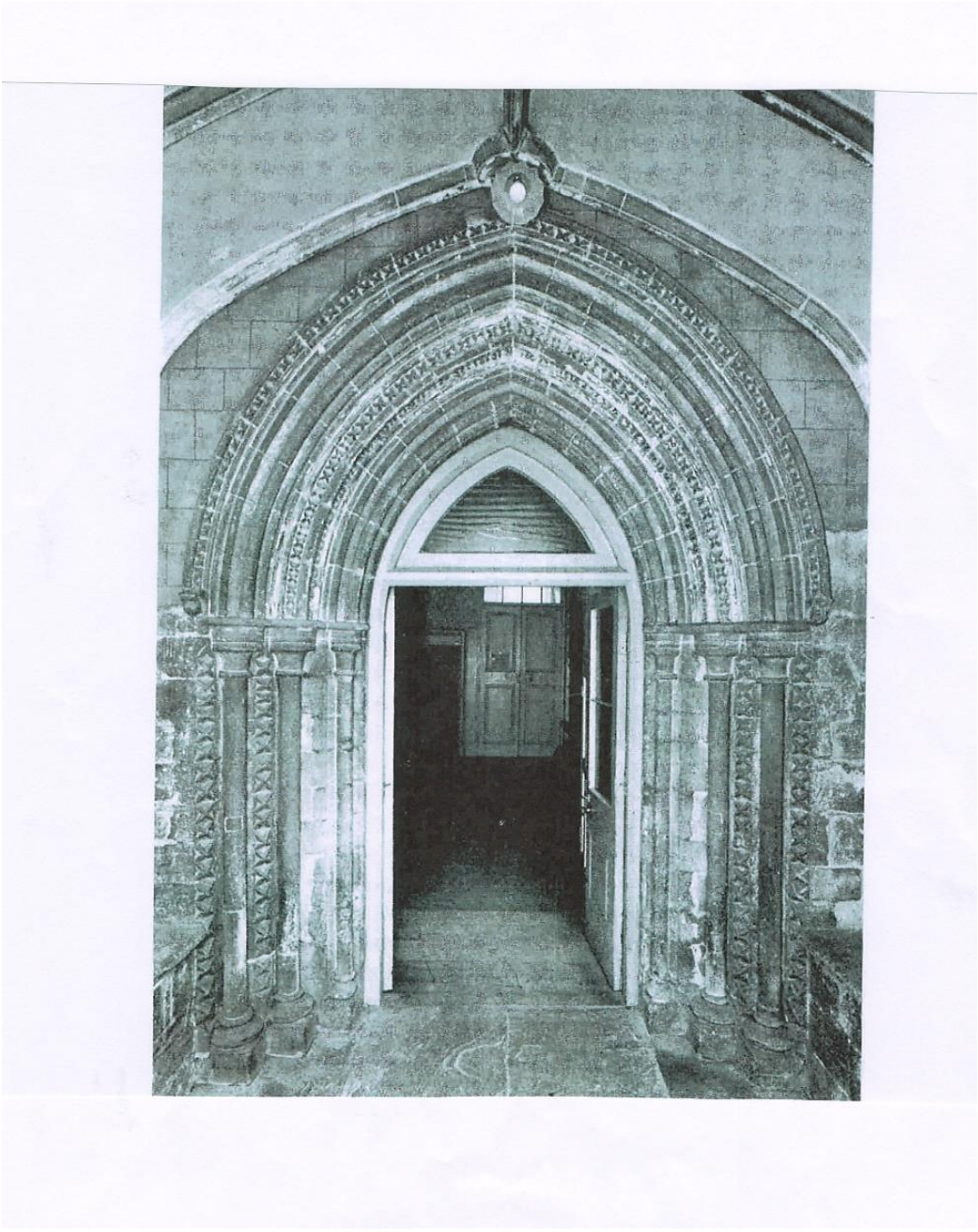


Figure 2.20 Plan of ground floor – Bury St Edmunds Cathedral

A : The porch; B: Entrance vestibule; C: Court Room; D: Banqueting room E: store room; F: Modern kitchen; G: Passage to former kitchen; H: Former kitchen

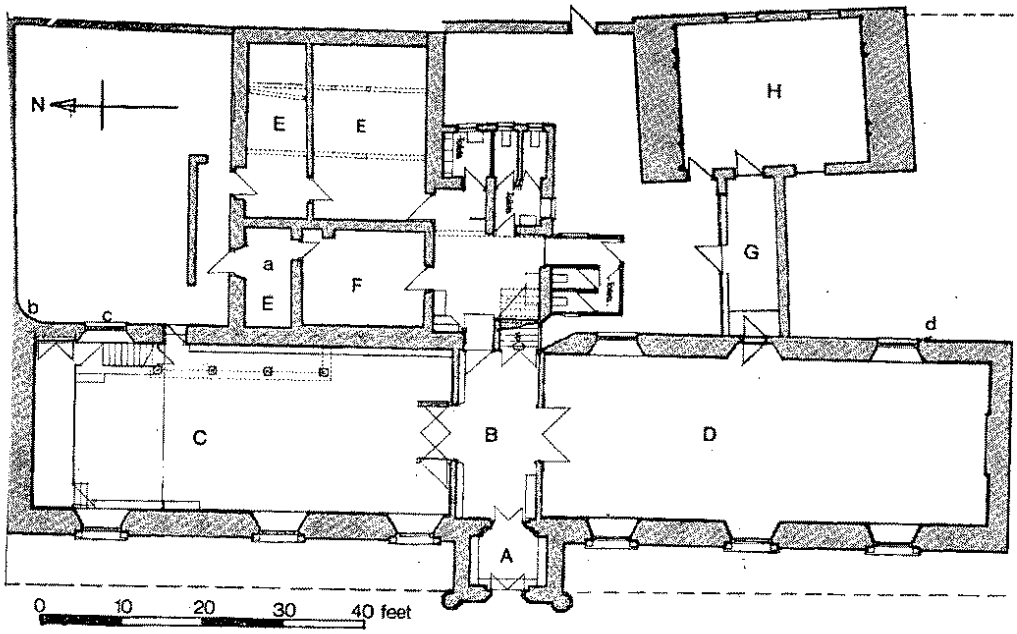
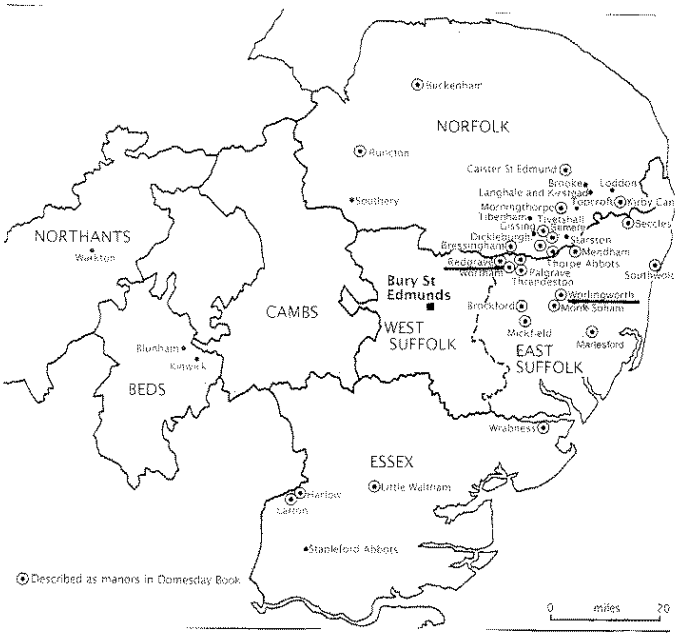


Figure 2.21: Location of Bury manors studied

1085 holdings
Map 2 in Gransden
History Vol.1

!086 Holdings
outside the Liberty
Map 4 in Gransden
History Vol.1



Chapter Three

Figure 3.1 Manors and castles of the Bigod Earls

Figure 3.2 Bungay Castle – aerial photograph

Figure 3.3 Aerial photograph of Framlingham Castle today

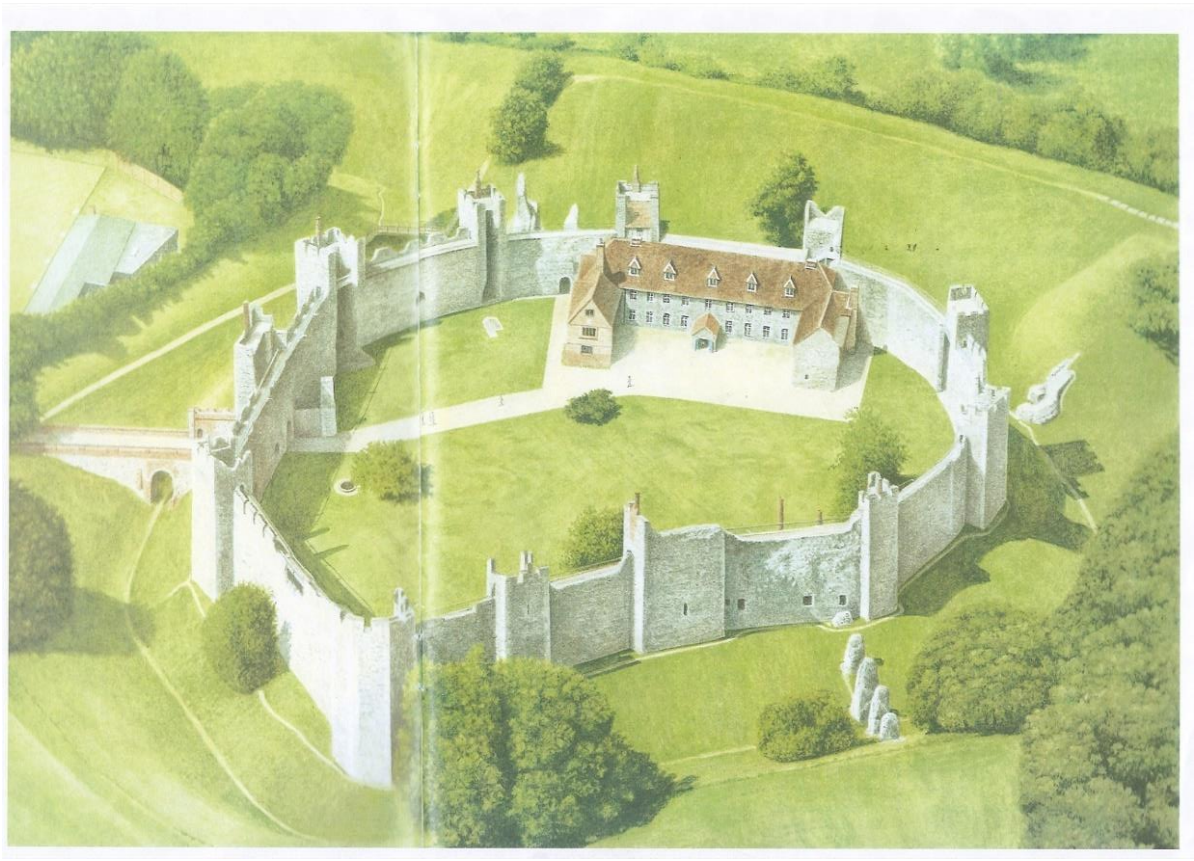


Figure 3.4 Orford Tower: A reconstruction illustrating the possible appearance of the keep in the 12th century

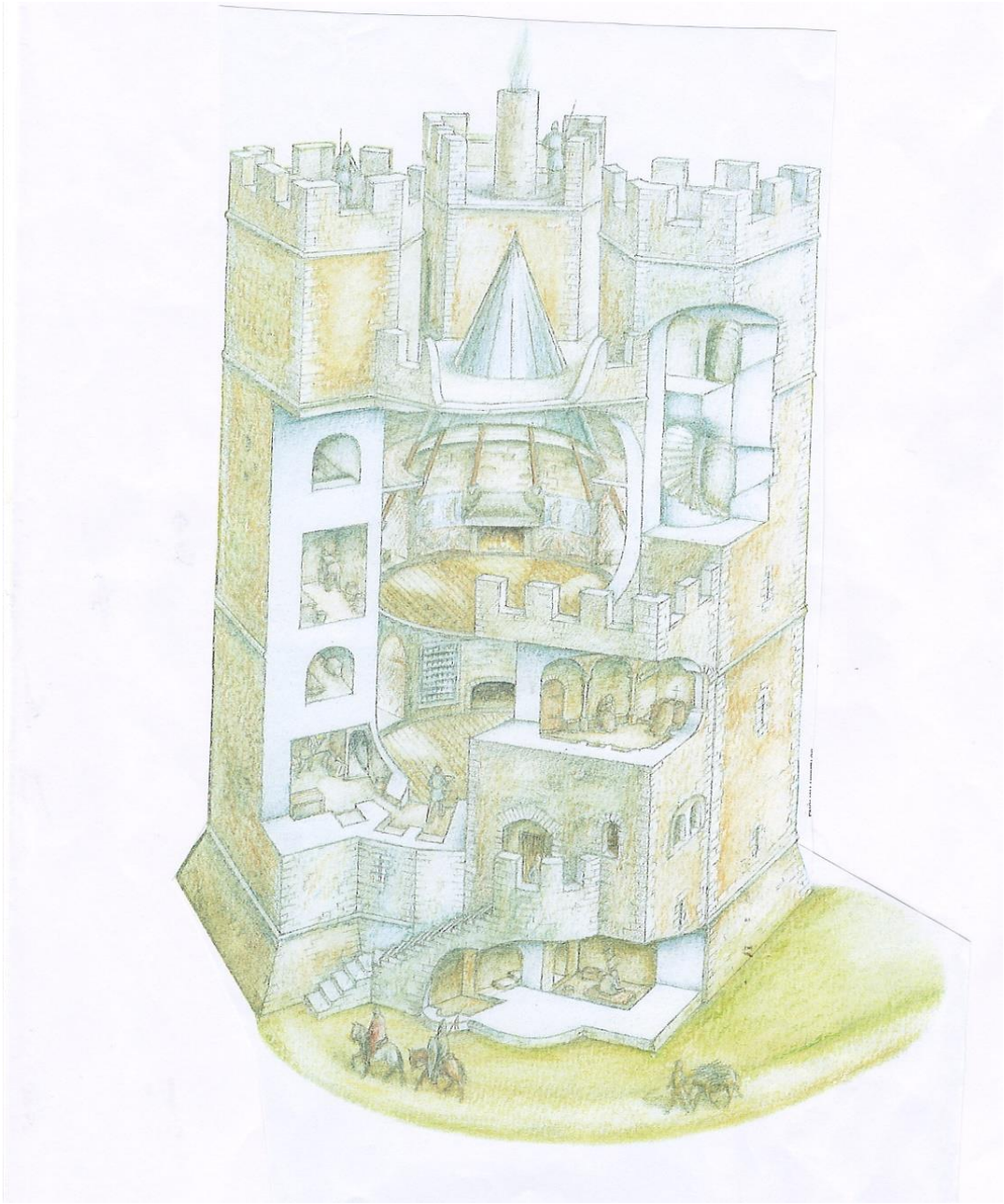


Figure 3.5 The great tower of Castle Hedingham, Essex, today

Figure 3.6 Castle Hedingham: contemporary view of ceremonial floor

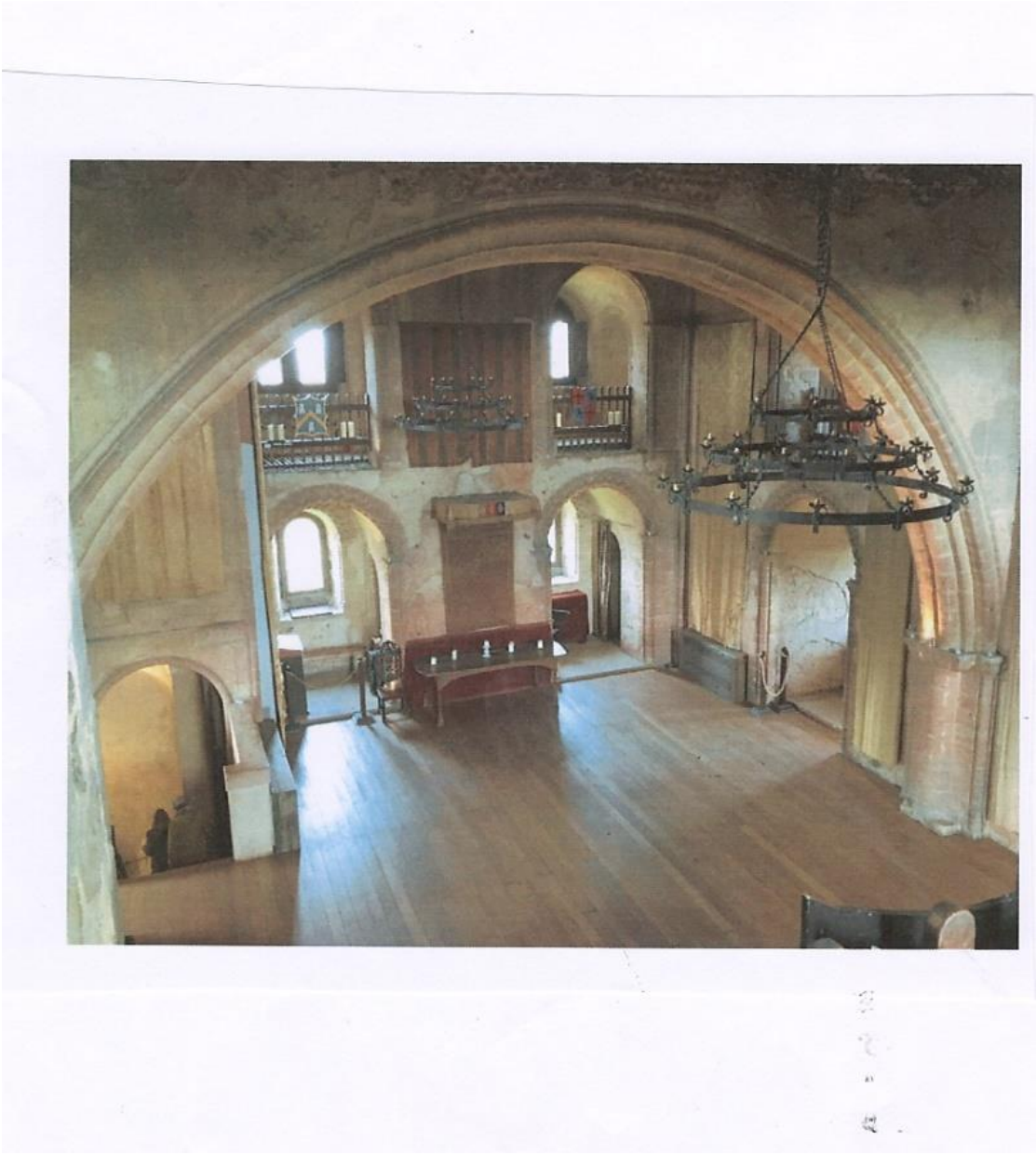


Figure 3.7 Ruins of Scarborough Castle

Figure 3.8 Scarborough Castle – plan of site: barbican, inner bailey and curtain wall.

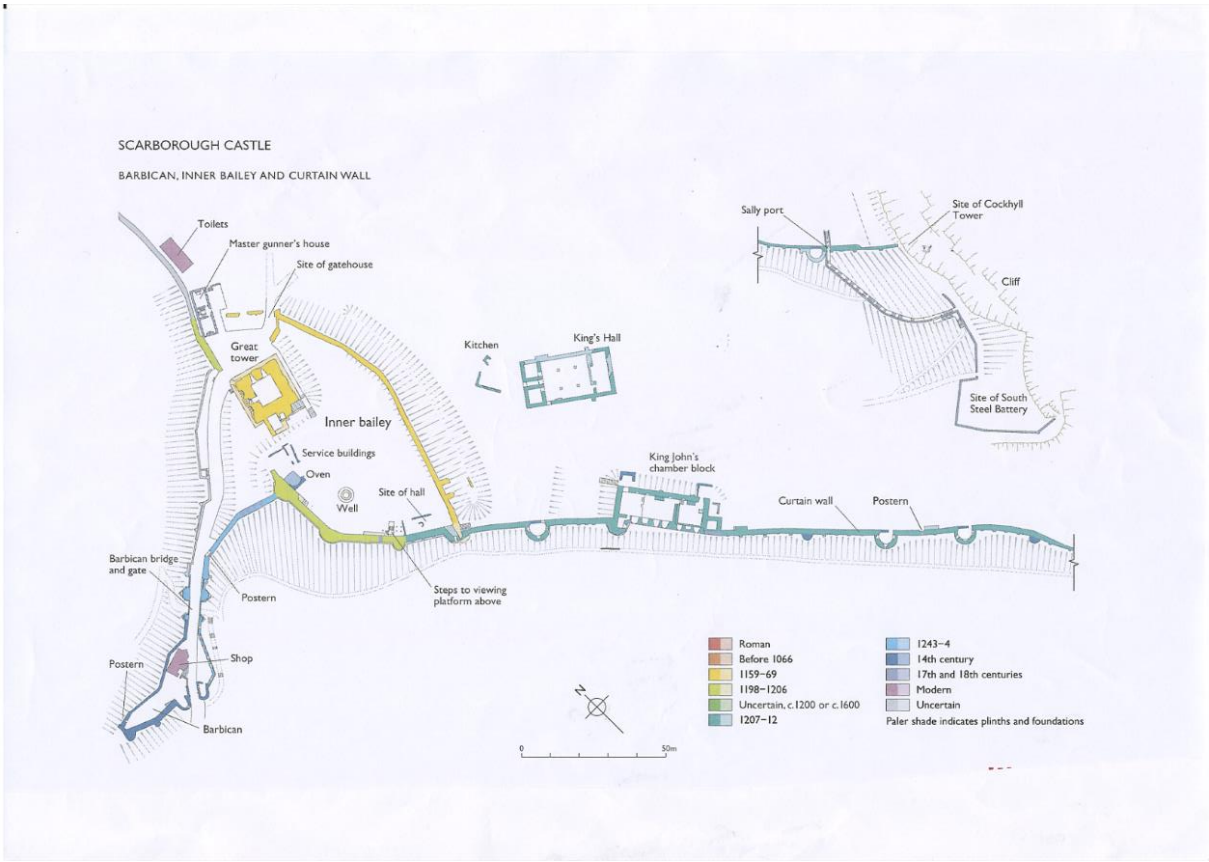


Figure 3.9 Bungay and Scarborough Castles: top floors reconstructed

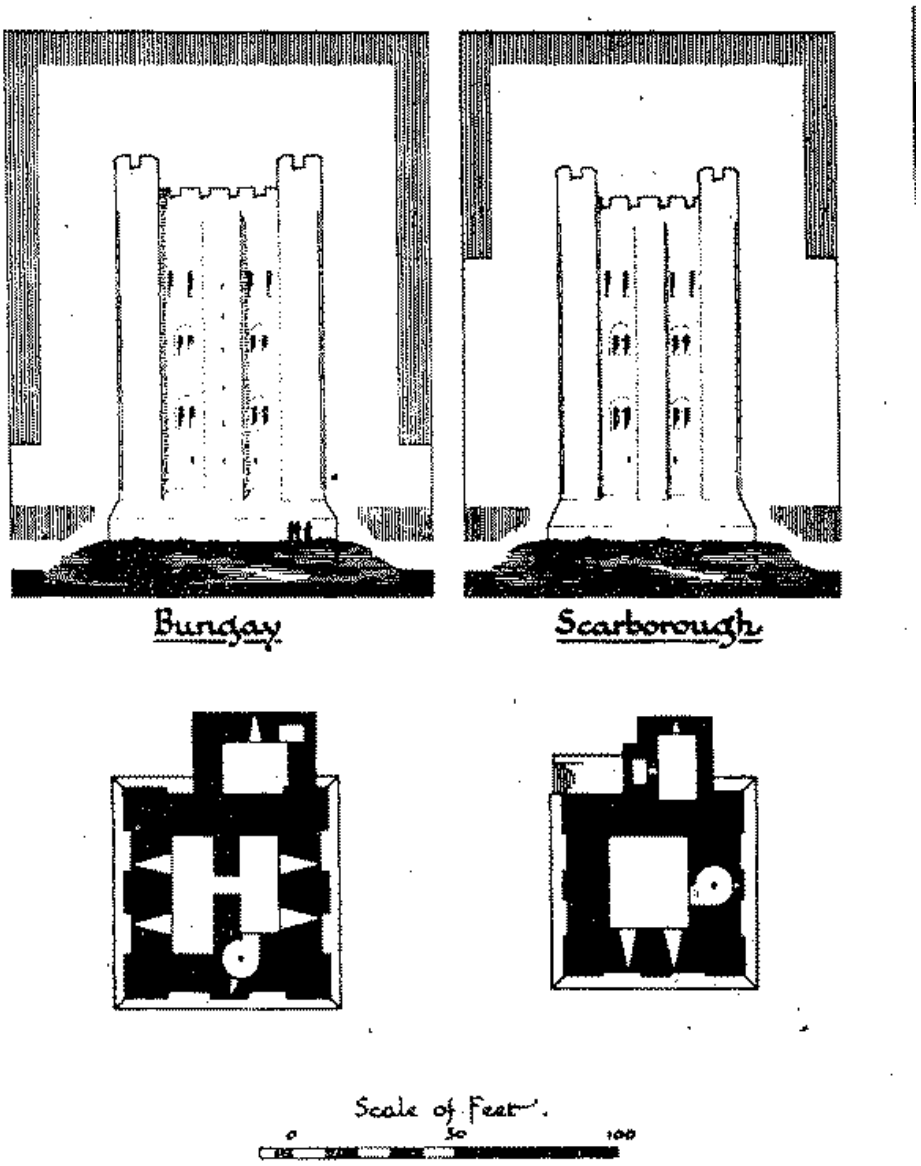


Figure 3.10 a Dover Castle

Figure 3.10 b Beaumaris Castle

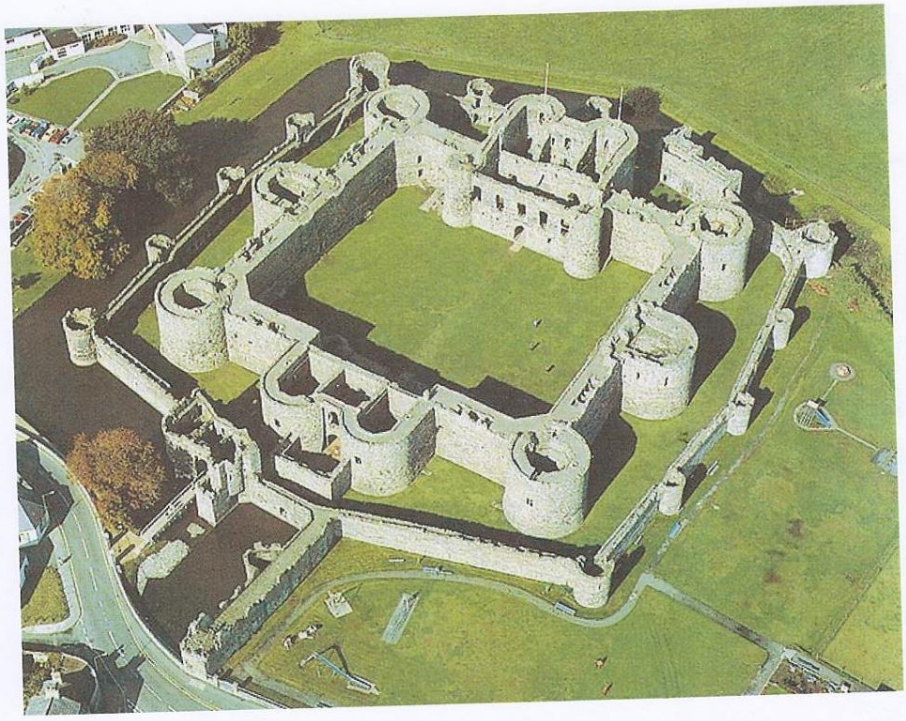


Figure 3.11 Orford Castle: Reconstruction of castle walls and towers

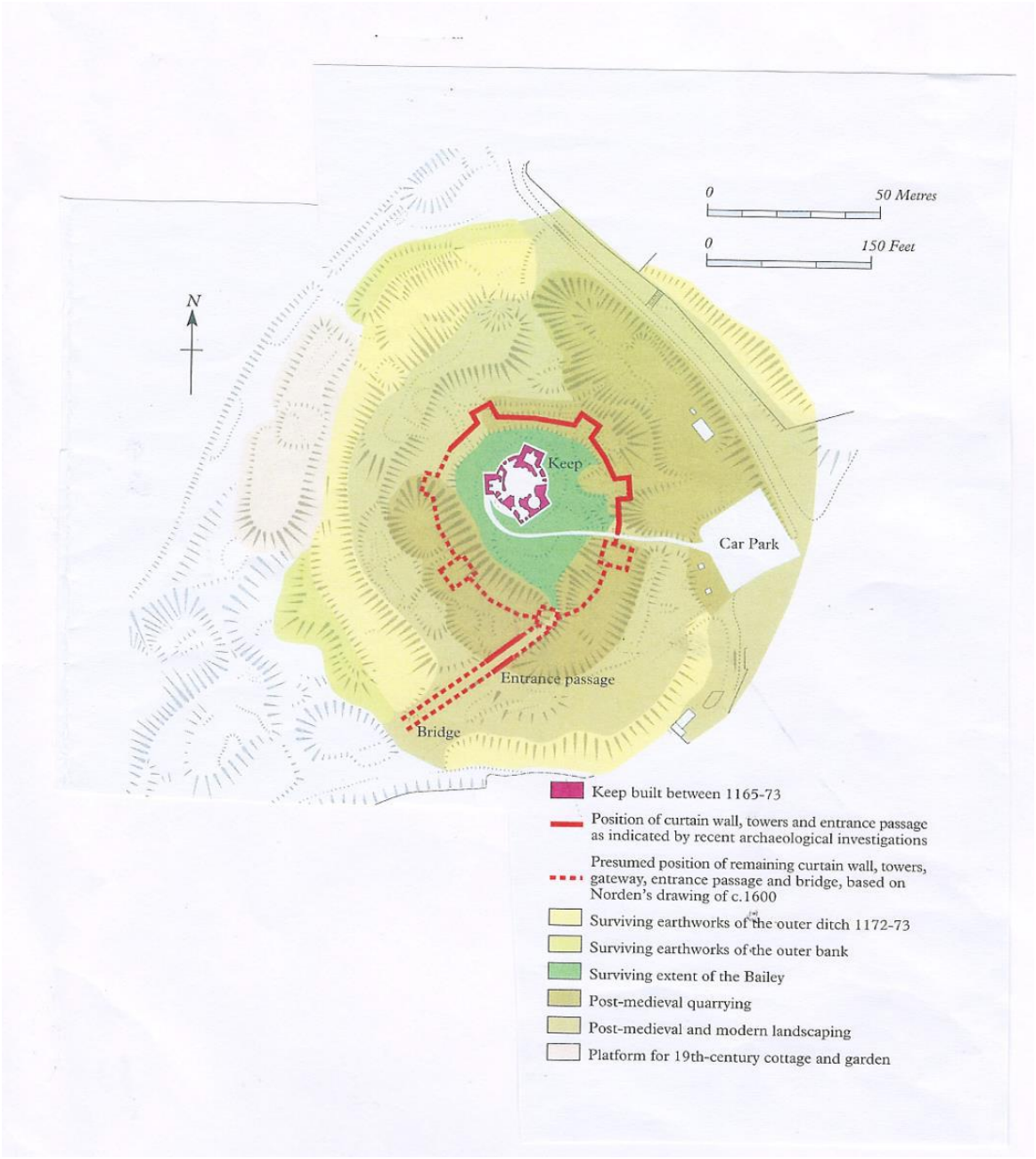


Figure 3.12 Framlingham Castle: plan of ground floor

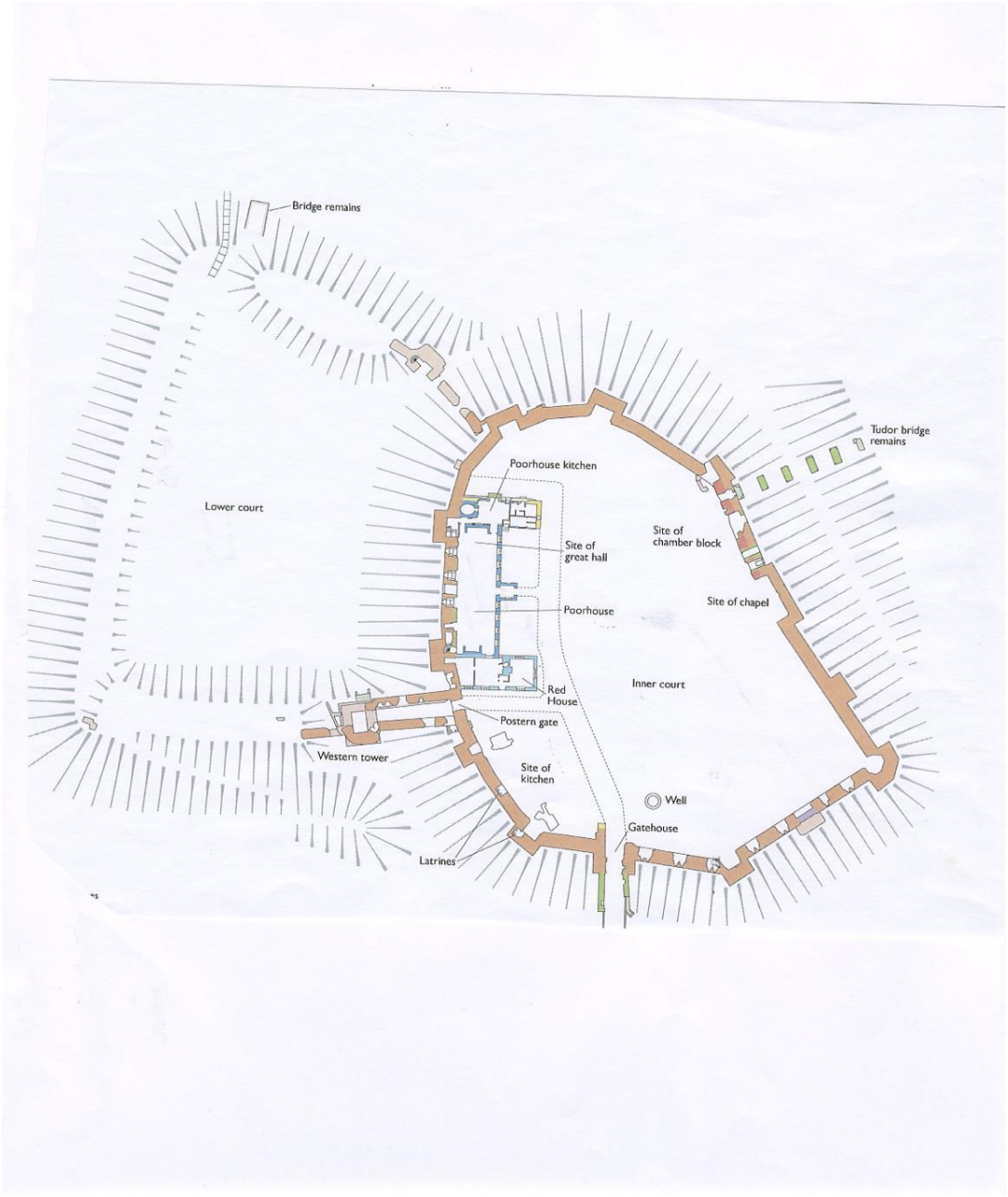


Figure 3.13. Framlingham Castle: reconstruction of fighting platform

Figure 3.14 Framlingham Castle: the west walls, showing how the mere gives an appearance of extra height

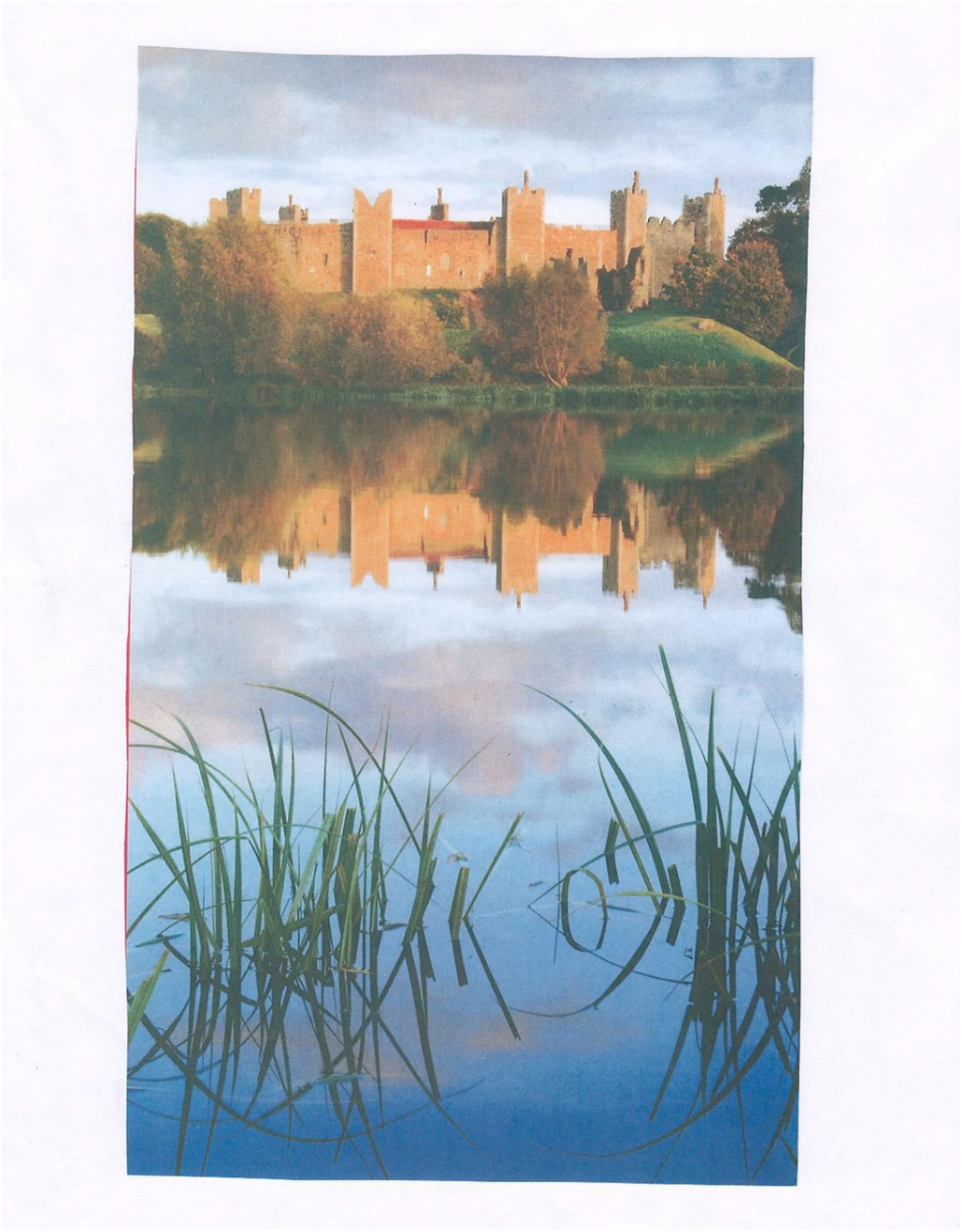


Figure 3.15 Stokesay Castle reflections

Figure 3.16 Framlingham Castle: imaginative reconstruction of the interior of the Castle as it might have been in the 13th century

Figure 3.17 Portchester Castle

Figure 3.18 Manorial buildings – Ailed Hall and chamber block

Chapter Four

Figure 4.1 Domesday map of Essex

Figure 4.2 Colchester Castle: interior plan and contemporary photograph of the exterior

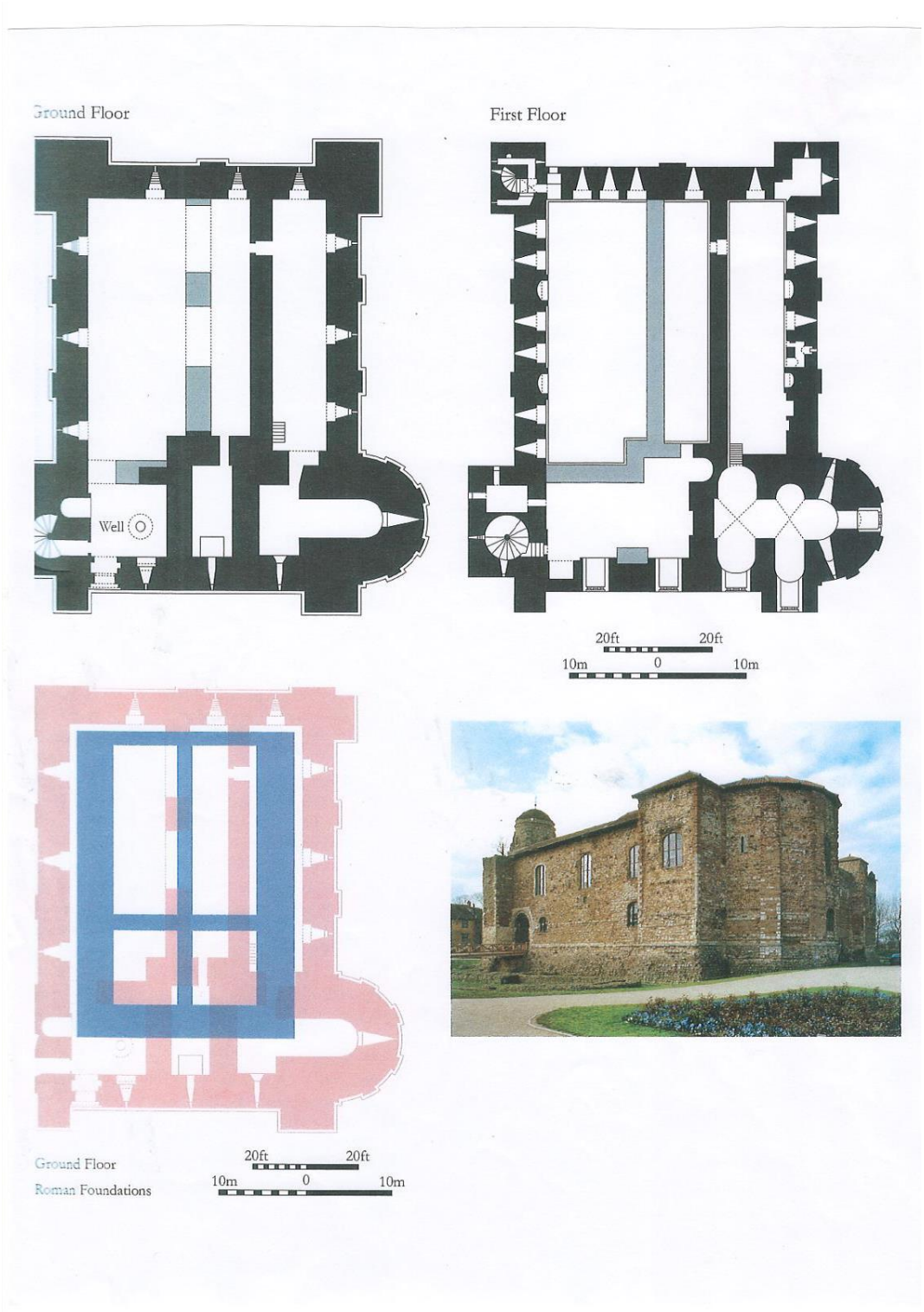


Figure 4.3 Colchester Castle key building stages

As recorded by P.J.Drury, in CBA Research Report 39

PERIOD	INCEPTION DATE (AD)	TEMPLE/KEEP	PRECINCT (INSULA 22)/BAILEY (N. SIDE OF HIGH STREET)	INSULA 30 (S. SIDE OF HIGH STREET)
VI Late Saxon	after 917	Probably a ruin	A Probable *villa regalis*, including Chapel 1 and other structures	Construction of All Saints Church (if not in Period V)
	c. 1000?		B Chapel 2 and other structures	
VII Norman	c. 1074 × 1076	A 1 Keep raised to one storey; staircase foundation 2 Corner towers raised one storey above parapet	A Hall in bailey built; N side of bailey defences constructed	A High Street diverted southwards (From this period onwards, the development of the area S of the High Street is not closely related to that of the castle area and is not considered in this paper)
	c. 1101	B Keep raised to 3 storeys; forebuilding erected	B Bailey defences completed; fireplace added to hall in bailey; Chapel 3 probably built	
VIII Later Medieval	early C13, ? after 1217		A Chapel 4 and alterations to bailey buildings	
	mid C13		B Construction of Barbican; ? recutting of bailey ditch on W	
	C14		C Late alterations and additions to bailey buildings	
	by c. 1400	D/E Neglect, demolition of forebuildings, etc.	D Infilling of bailey ditch on S and W sides	
	early C16	Use of keep as prison	E Development of W side of bailey; glazier's workshop on S side	

Figure 4.4 Tower of London in 2006 showing plan form of the White Tower

Source: *The White Tower*, ed E. Impey, 2008

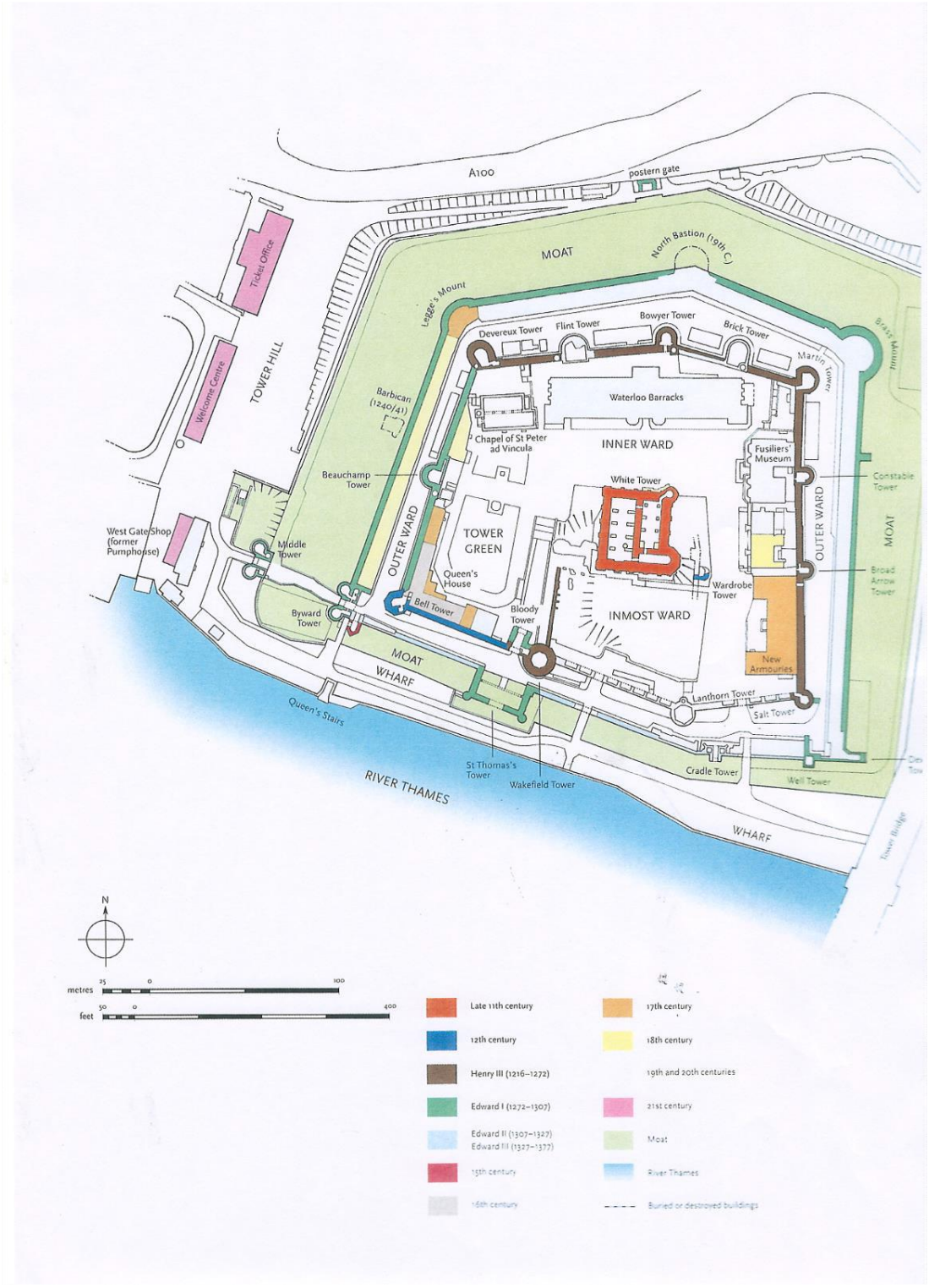


Figure 4.5 Colchester Castle

Entrance archway

Vaulting below chapel

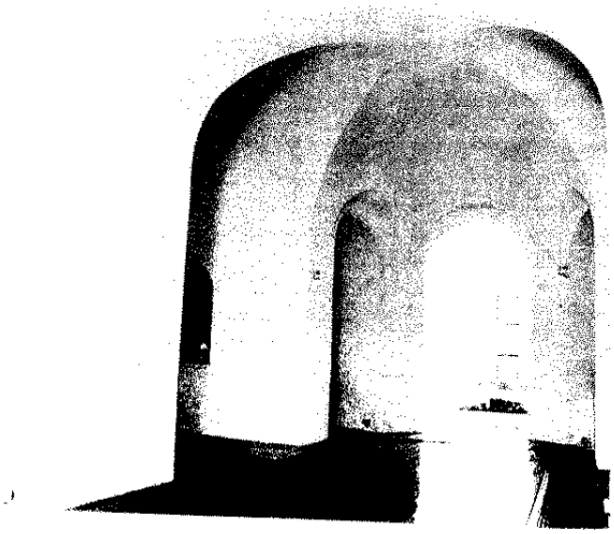


Figure 4.6 Colchester Castle fireplace

Figure 4.7 Norwich Castle

Figure 4.8 Excavation at Writtle royal hunting lodge

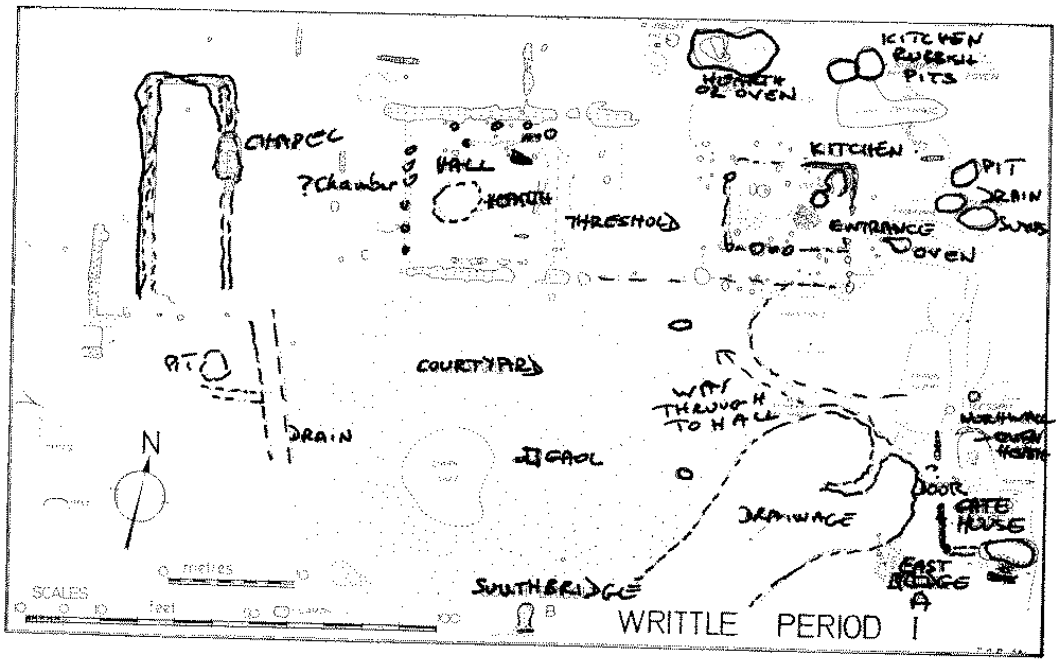
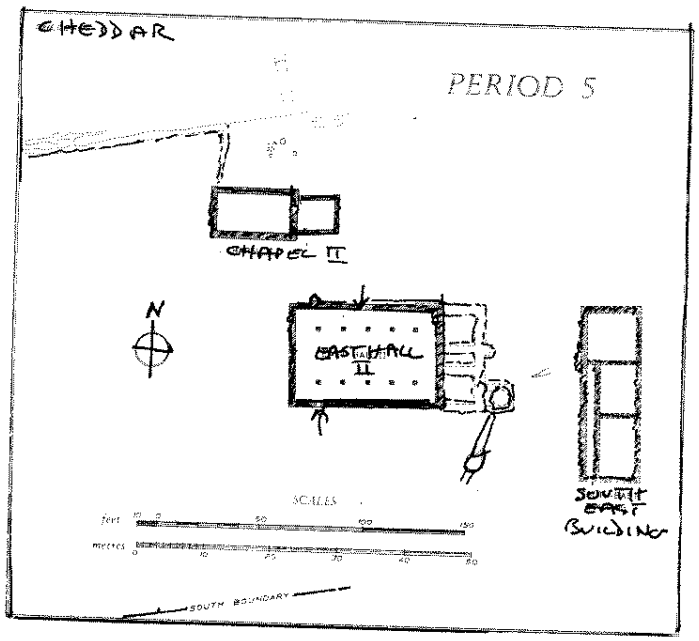
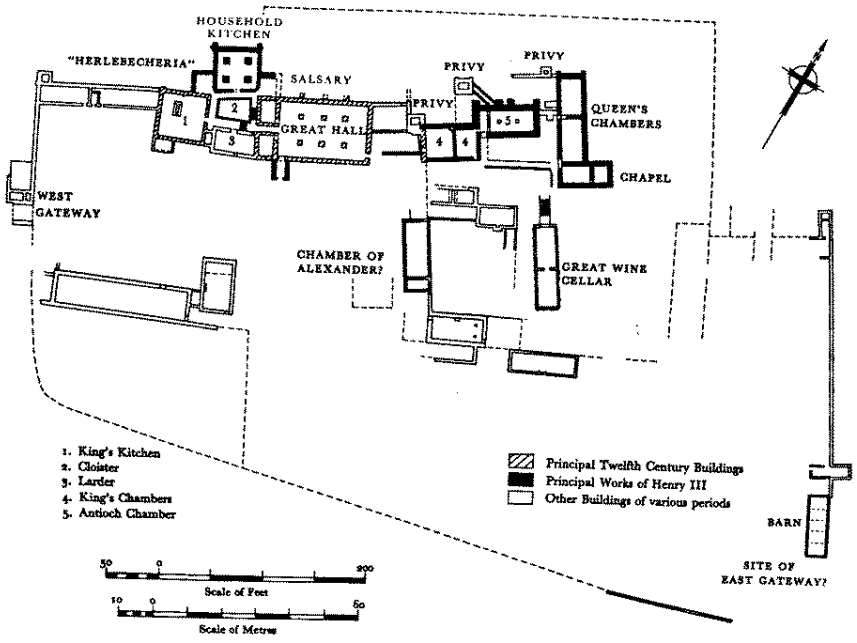


Figure 4.9 Other royal domestic buildings

Cheddar Palace

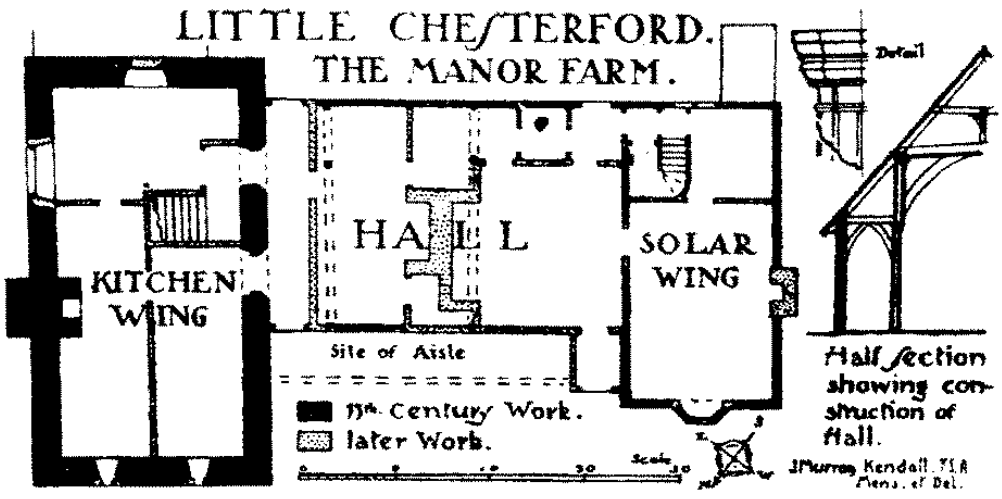


Clarendon Palace



Clarendon, Wiltshire, the royal manor-house

Figure 4.10 12th century stone built manor house



Little Chesterford. the Manor Farm.

Figure 4.11 Great Chesterford – remains of Marigold Cottage

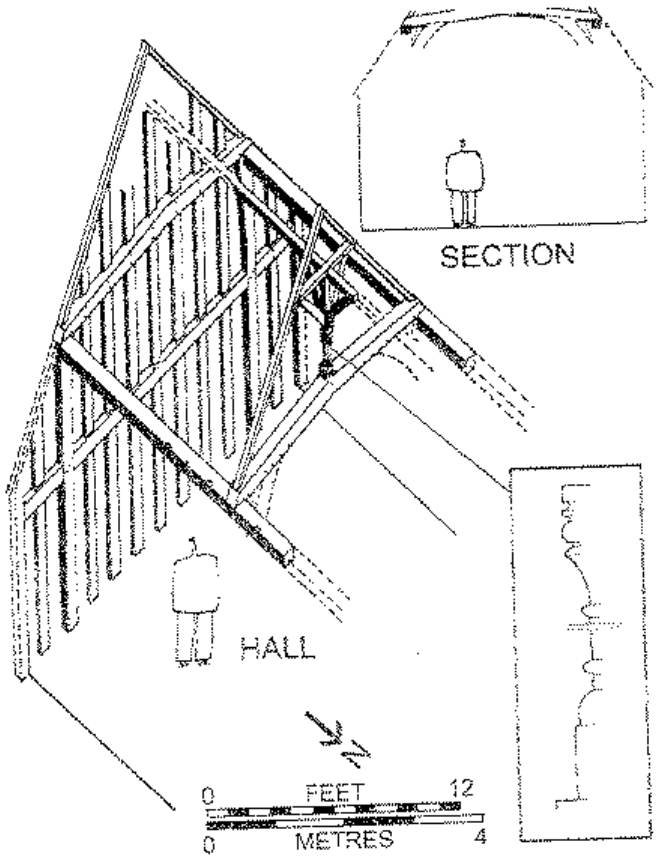


Figure 4.12 Cressing Barley Barn: reconstructed view of interior

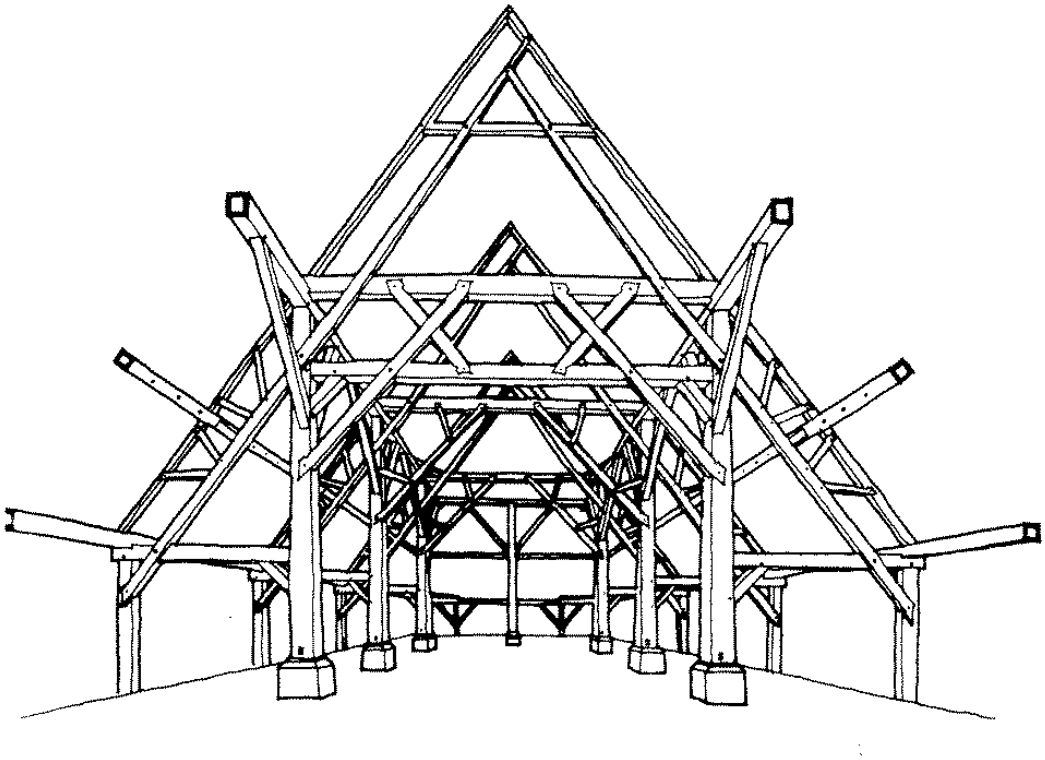
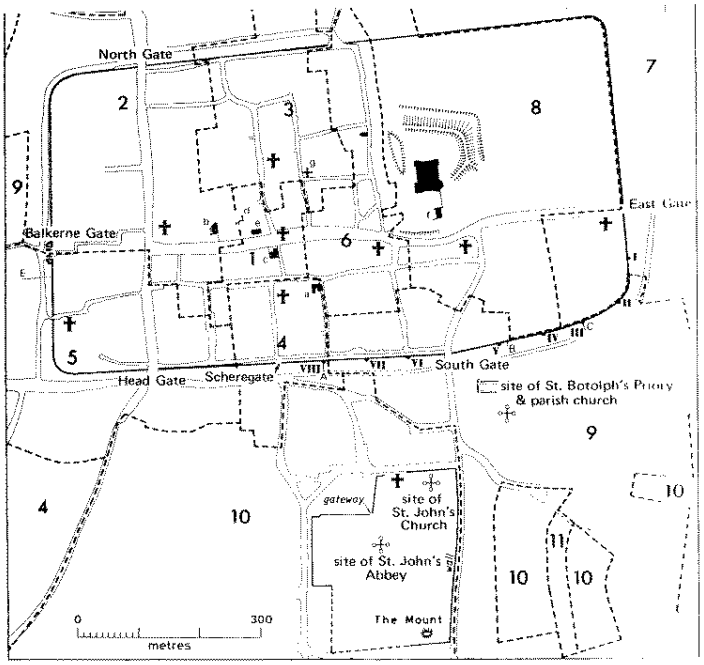


Figure 4.13 Medieval Colchester

Town plan



Remains of merchant Houses built in stone

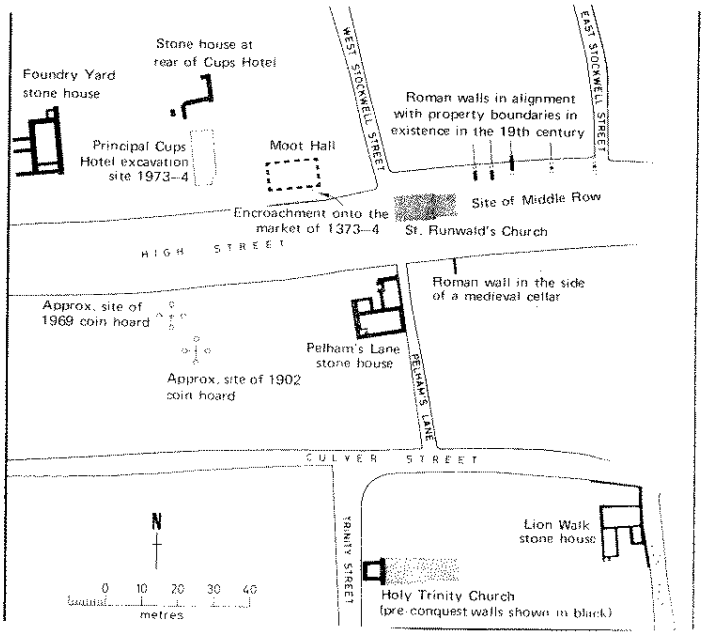


Figure 4.14 Colchester stone house at Foundry Yard, isometric drawing

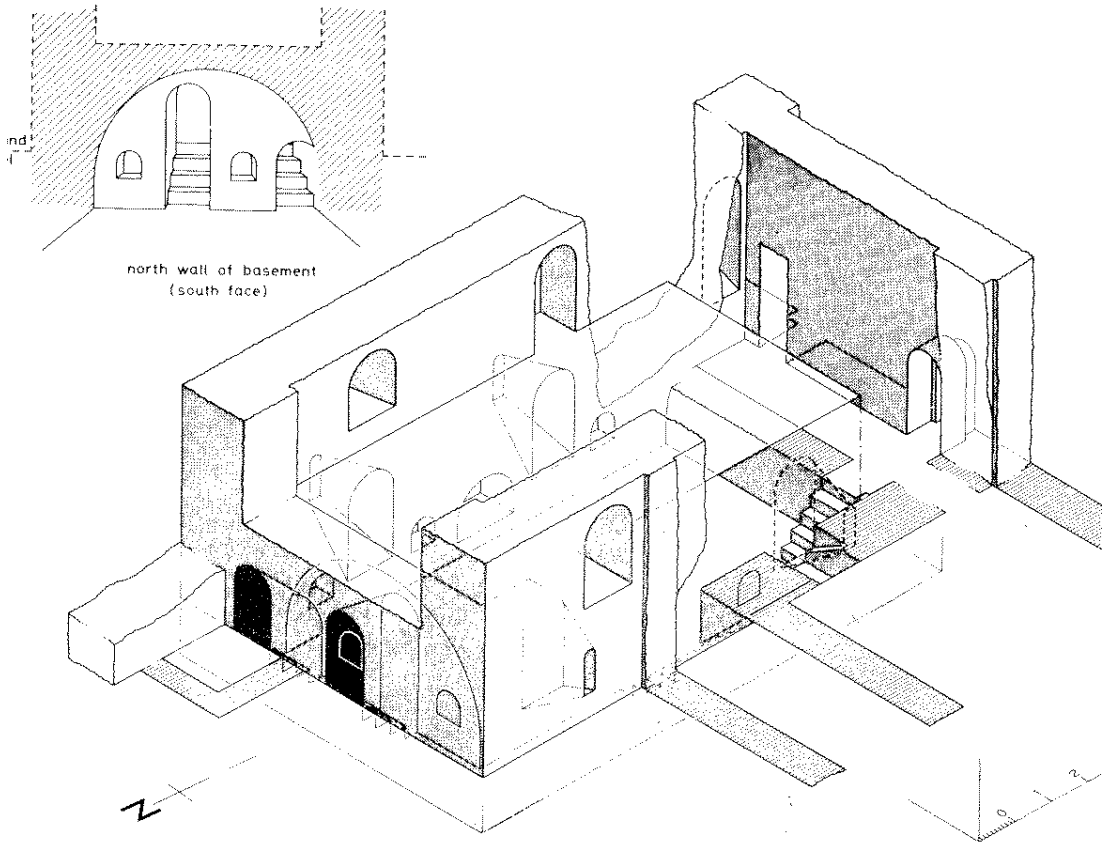
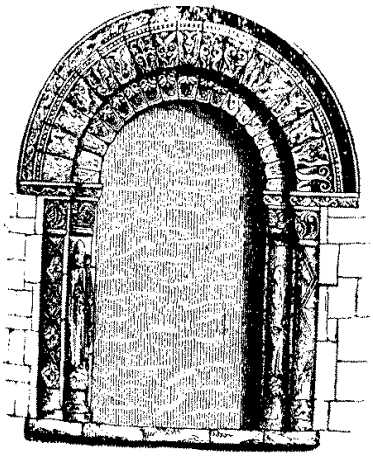


Figure 4.15 Colchester Moot Hall

Moot Hall window



Moot Hall arch

Figure 4.16 Colchester: St. Botolph's Priory, west front